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EDITORIAL

THE UNDERTOW

The sea has its ebb and flow of resistless tides; its constant currents and its sudden storms; its trade winds which are the mariner's trust, and its tempests which are his terror. The effect of all these is seen on the surface. Along the shores, especially after a rising tide, or a heavy gale, there is also the undertow, or reactionary current. The tide is visible and trustworthy, the undertow invisible and treacherous.

So has it been in the history of Islam and its relation to Christianity. At first a glorious rising tide of monotheistic faith and of a devotion often sublime in its conception of Deity and of duty; followed by the undertow of reactionary Arabian paganism. This was true even in the case of the Prophet himself when he consecrated the Ka'aba-stone and for a moment lapsed to pay honor to Lat and 'Uzza. Koran chapters that rise, like "the verse of the Throne" and "the verse of Light", almost to the heights of Job and Isaiah; followed by puerile passages full of animistic superstitions—Solomon's jinn, Alexander's bellow-blowers, or Jewesses blowing on knots.

So also has it been in the history of Islam. Puritan revivals and popular reactions; periods of enlightenment and culture when Islam held aloft the torch of civilization and dark centuries of ignorance and superstition—Al Ghazali's call to repentance forgotten for centuries, while the masses pored over the pages of Al Buni's encyclopedia of magic.

In our day we see many signs of progress. Young Islam is indeed "on trek." The whole Moslem world is in revolution. Reforms, social, intellectual and moral are the order of the day. Nationalism has supplanted interest in the Caliphate. The Moslem press everywhere is broadcasting new ideas and ideals. Compulsory education is advocated for communities and in communities where ninety-five per cent. of the masses are still illiterate. The hands of the clock are being moved forward violently at Angora but pushed back with equal vigor at Riadh and Mecca. Unless we take account of all this action and reaction our conclusions will be at fault. There is a rising tide but there is also an undertow. For example, a Chicago paper records that the daughter of one of the rulers among the Moros in Sulu came to the University of Illinois, received her education, left a full-fledged American girl-graduate, in dress, demeanor and ideals—only to be dragged down by the undertow on her return, the fourth wife in a princely harem. Such cases are not exceptional.

In this number there are articles on some aspects of the religion of the common people in the vast Sudan and in Afghanistan, and on the daily life of Moslem women in Lucknow. We call special attention to the article contributed by Mr. R. Davies on "A System of Sand Divination." Such a careful study of one, among many, popular forms of magic is of deep interest. The student of Islam will never understand the common people unless he knows the reasons for their curious beliefs and practices. We need this accurate knowledge to have sympathy and avoid showing contempt for those caught in the undertow, or denunciating what to them may have real sacramental value. After all, superstition is extra-faith or extra-ordinary faith (*aberglaube; bijgeloof*).

The religion of the common people from Tangier to Teheran is based on hundreds of weird beliefs, many of which have indeed lost their original significance, but all of which still bind mind and heart with constant fear of

the unseen. Witchcraft, sorcery, spells and charms are the background of native psychology to an extent that is only realized by those who have penetrated most deeply into the life of the people.

Not only does superstition prevail in popular Islam, that is among the vast majority of the people, with its literature of magic, high and low, its universal sale of amulets, charms, talismans, magic-squares, its practice of geomancy, ornithomancy, etc.; but in its very source-books, the Koran and Traditions, these practices nearly always find their origin or their justification. It is rather astonishing therefore that in the recent monumental work on "Ritual and Belief in Morocco," by Edward Westermarck,[1] so few references are given to the Koran text or to the Traditions of Bukhari and Muslim. Nearly all of the superstitious practices which he catalogues so carefully, and explains so interestingly, can be traced to early Arabia or to the practice of the Prophet and his Companions. The doctrine of God includes the magical use of His names and attributes. The belief in revelation has degenerated into a bibliomancy and a bibliolatry more crass than in any other book-religion. In Persia one can purchase bi-lingual editions of the Koran in which every page has printed at the top its "good" "bad" or "doubtful" value for the telling of fortunes.

In no monotheistic faith are magic and sorcery so firmly entrenched as they are in Islam. The Koran tells of Harut and Marut, the two angels of Babylon who teach men how to bind or break the marriage vow. The commentators tell how a Jew named Lobeid, with the assistance of his daughters, bewitched Mohammed by tying eleven knots in a cord which they then hid in a well. The Prophet falling ill in consequence, this chapter and that following it were revealed; and the angel Gabriel acquainted him with the use he was to make of them, and told him where the cord was hidden. Then Ali fetched the cord, and the Prophet repeated over it these two chap-

[1] Cf. the book review in this number of the Quarterly.

ters; at every verse a knot was loosed, till, on finishing the last words, he was entirely freed from the charm.[2]

The incongruity of things in our frontispiece—these women of the better class in Cairo, eagerly awaiting the verdict of an unkempt sand-diviner from Morocco who is tracing their fortune, or misfortune, by clever geomancy —must not surprise us. It is all due to this heavy undertow of superstition. The husbands of these women formerly hung blue beads on the necks of their donkeys to ward off the evil eye; now they hang them on the radiator-tops of their motorcars for the same purpose. Facts are stubborn things.

The words of Frazer apply in this connection: "As in Europe beneath a superficial layer of Christianity, a faith in magic and witchcraft, in ghosts and goblins has always survived and even flourished among the weak and ignorant, so it has been and so it is in the East. Brahminism, Buddhism, Islam may come and go, but the belief in magic and demons remains unshaken through them all, and, if we may judge of the future from the past, is likely to survive the rise and fall of other historical religions. . . . With the common herd, who compose the great bulk of every people, the new religion is accepted only in outward show, because it is impressed upon them by their natural leaders whom they cannot choose but follow. They yield a dull assent to it with their lips, but in their hearts they never really abandon their old superstitions; in these they cherish a faith such as they cannot repose in the creed which they nominally profess; and to these, in the trials and emergencies of life, they have recourse as to infallible remedies when the promises of the higher faith have failed them, as indeed such promises are apt to do." [3]

Not only is there in Islam today the strong undertow of superstition; we must reckon with other undertows:

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[2] See "Al Razi", Vol. viii, pp. 559-564. Here we also learn that an *afrit* used to tease Mohammed, so Gabriel taught him to repeat this chapter at bed-time. It was given him as a charm against the evil eye.

[3] "The Scapegoat" pp. 89-90.

the power of social custom, of a language and literature which have dominated life for centuries. It is not an easy pull for those who venture out to rescue those engulfed in this sea.

Writing from Iraq where all the superficial currents of a new civilization and a new nationalism might seem to favor freedom, the Rev. Dirk Dykstra tells of the undertow experienced by converts:

"No one living in Christian America can have the slightest conception of the faith, the courage and the fortitude that are required for this seemingly simple act of following the Lord. Everything is against them. From childhood their minds have been impregnated with the thoughts, habits and superstitions of Islam. To break with it means to break with everything that their forefathers have believed and have held precious. Then all about them is the unity of Mohammedan brotherhood. No labor union could command such unity of action in a strike as is shown by Islam as soon as one of their number breaks away. It is as though the road of life were one black mass of people all crowding in the same direction. What chance would a single individual have to face about and start going in the opposite direction? He would at once find himself out of harmony with the entire mass, would find it next to impossible to make headway against the determined current of the mass of humanity about him, and would probably be trampled to death in his efforts to reverse his steps. And much more real are the difficulties that beset those who face the spiritual powers of darkness set in dread array against all who would follow Jesus Christ."

Therefore it is that a true review of current events, literature and thought among Mohammedans and of the progress of Christian missions in Moslem lands must take account not only of rising tides but also of the undertow.

S. M. ZWEMER.

ISLAM AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS [1]

Up to the present, the Islamic world has been conspicuously under-represented on the League of Nations. In fact, unless we count British India as an Islamic country (which we can hardly do, since her seventy million Moslems amount to little more than one-fifth of her population), Persia is the only Islamic country in the League today. Persia, it is true, is an original member. On the other hand, she is not in the first rank of Islamic countries. Even under the efficient rule of Riza Shah Pahlavi, assisted by Dr. Millspaugh, the American financial adviser, Persia is neither so wealthy or progressive as Egypt nor so powerful or progressive as Turkey—both of whom remain outside the League. Moreover, Persia is to some extent unfitted for representing the Islamic world as an international organization because the prevalent religion of her people and the established Church of her State is Shi'ism, whereas the majority of Islamic states and peoples are Sunni. No doubt, the barrier may eventually disappear altogether. It is still, however, a factor of some importance, as was demonstrated by the aloofness of Persia towards the two general Islamic conferences—one held in Cairo and the other in Mecca—which took place in 1926.

The only other Islamic state which is certain to take its place side by side with Persia in the League is Iraq. The Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1926 provides, like the preceding treaty of 1922, that the British Government shall use its good offices to obtain admission for Iraq to membership

[1] In publishing this most interesting article we make an exception to our rule that purely political discussions are outside the purview of our Quarterly. The writer not only has special qualifications to treat so thorny a question, but his conclusions are worthy of attention even if they do not meet with general approval.—Editor.

in the League at the earliest possible moment and the question is to be raised and reviewed at stated intervals until the admission of Iraq is achieved. Both parties to the treaty are in earnest about this: the Iraqis because they are eager to attain the status of full sovereign and independent nationhood, and to get rid of the last traces of the mandate, which they have always regarded with dislike and suspicion (though they welcome British assistance in other forms); the British because they are anxious to share with other members of the League the responsibility which now lies upon the shoulders of Great Britain (as mandatory in the sight of the League and as bound by treaty to Iraq) to safeguard Iraq against aggression. The burden of this responsibility has been lessened since the Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1926 confirmed in substance, by voluntary agreement, the League Council's award of December 1925, in regard to the frontier between Iraq and Turkey in the Mosul area. Nevertheless, the British Government, as well as the British nation, would be relieved to see their burden still further lightened. For these several reasons, the admission of Iraq to membership in the League may be looked forward to with some confidence in the not distant future. It is also not improbable that France may seek a solution for the prolonged and painful troubles in her mandated territory in Syria by following the British precedent in Iraq. Even, however, if Persia is reinforced before long by Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon, the number of Islamic states on the roll of the League will still be very small (and the Lebanon incidentally—even the greater Lebanon—is a state with a Christian majority). In what direction, then, are the other Islamic states and peoples likely to move? Are they likely to seek admission, one after another, to the League, or are they going to gravitate elsewhere?

In order to attempt an answer to this question we must glance at the general aspect of the world as a whole from the League's point of view. At present the League in-

cludes practically the whole of Europe (where the adhesion of Germany much more than counterbalances the secession of Spain); the whole of Tropical Africa (Liberia and Abyssinia, the only two independent states in that region, being members, while the rest of Tropical Africa consists of the colonies, protectorates and mandates of five European members of the League); the Far East (India, Siam, China, Japan); the British self-governing Dominions; and the Latin American Republics (with the exception of Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico). The three principal units that remain outside the League are first the United States, second the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and third the major part of the Islamic world. If we translate the position into numerical terms, there are at present eleven sovereign independent states in the world which are not members of the League, and of these eleven no less than five are Islamic states. These are Turkey, Afghanistan, the Wahhabi principality of the Nejd, the Zaydi principality in the Yemen and Egypt. We have included Egypt, in spite of the fact that her formal independence is seriously limited in practice by the four British reservations of February, 1922, on which the British and Egyptian Governments have not yet come to an agreement. Nevertheless, Egyptian independence is already a reality in many important aspects of international life; the limitations upon Egyptian independence are likely to be diminished sooner or later, though perhaps not extinguished altogether; in any case, these limitations upon Egyptian independence *vis-à-vis* Great Britain are not greater than the limitations upon Pan-American, Nicaraguan, Cuban, Haytian and Santo Dominican independence *vis-à-vis* the United States, and these five Caribbean Republics have all been held to be sufficiently independent to qualify for membership in the League. On the other hand, we have omitted from our list of independent Islamic states such small fry as the Idrisi principality in the Asir (which might cease to exist at any moment) and the dominions of the "Gulf chiefs" (who,

though technically independent, are virtually under the protectorate of British India).

In what direction, then, are those five important Islamic states, now outside the League, likely to gravitate hereafter? On the assumption that both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are to remain outside the League for an indefinite time to come, the unattached Islamic states have theoretically four choices before them as they look abroad upon the world. They might either join the League or enter the orbit of the U. S. S. R. or the United States or form a separate group of their own. Of these theoretical alternatives, one may be ruled out as impracticable forthwith. These Islamic states will not enter the orbit of the United States. It is true that the American people have important "cultural" interests in Islamic countries. American educational and missionary work in these countries ranks with that of France and puts in the shade the similar work of any other Western people—in the Old World or the New—among the Moslems. On the other hand, the Administration at Washington, interpreting American public opinion, has always taken the line that American educationalists and missionaries work in the Islamic world at their own choice, and that they are not to expect diplomatic, naval or military intervention on their behalf by the United States Government. The determination of the American people to avoid political commitments in this quarter was displayed unmistakably during the peace settlement, when it was suggested that the United States might undertake a mandate in Armenia. In the Islamic world, the United States has no considerable economic interests and no political interests whatever. American relations with the Islamic world are, and will doubtless remain, entirely cultural.

This being so, the practical alternatives confronting the Islamic countries are narrowed down to three: gravitation towards Russia, the formation of a separate group

of their own, and entry into the League. As between these three courses, where is their choice likely to fall?

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics makes no secret of the fact that she would like to gather the Islamic countries into her fold; and for playing this game, she undoubtedly holds strong cards. Constitutionally, the U. S. S. R. (as its official name implies) is a federation, standing half-way between a *Bundes-Staat* like the United States and a *Staaten-Bund* like the League of Nations. On paper, at any rate, the statesmen of the U. S. S. R. have deliberately and drastically reserved the centralising and Russifying policy of the defunct Romanov Empire. They have re-mapped and reorganized the territories and populations within their domain into a hierarchy of autonomous units—one autonomous unit within another, on the principle of those Indian boxes which, on being opened successively, are found each time to contain another box, which contains another, and so on, down to the minutest dimensions which a box can have. This comparison roughly illustrates the present organization of the U. S. S. R. and a generous share in the benefits of it has been accorded to the Moslem elements in the Union (which amounts to something like nineteen millions out of a total population of about one hundred and thirty millions.) Of the six direct components of the Union, no less than two—the Uzbeg Republic and the Turkoman Republic—are Moslem states; and altogether there are not less than twenty more or less sub-units or sub-sub-units in the Union—ranging from the Kirghiz Qazaq Republic with its vast area and its three millions of population, through such considerable states as Azerbaijan in Transcaucasia or the Tatar Republic and the Middle Volga, down to half a dozen minute cantons in remote Caucasian valleys. In many cases—in the smaller and more backward units especially—this autonomy may be greater on paper than in fact. Nevertheless when this probability has been discounted to the full, the amount of self-government which the Soviet statesmen have accorded to Mos-

lem peoples in the U. S. S. R. remains very imposing—particularly in the eyes of Moslems abroad who have little or no opportunity to examine the workings of the Soviet system for themselves, and who therefore have to take or leave the facts as they find them on paper. On the whole, the far-reaching decentralisation of the U. S. S. R. probably gives the Bolsheviks an appreciable—and a quite legitimate—advantage in conducting their propaganda among Moslems abroad. The fact that they have granted that measure of autonomy to Moslems within their own frontiers is an earnest of their good faith in urging the independent Moslem states to come within their orbit and to form a single group in the world with them. It suggests that these Bolshevik overtures are something other than a device for carrying on the imperialist policy of the defunct Russian Empire in a more disingenuous form.

What, then, are the prospects that Bolshevik propaganda among the unattached Islamic countries will achieve its object? The U. S. S. R. has treaties of amity with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan; and a few weeks ago there was a sensational rumour in the press that Russian diplomacy was on the eve of bringing into being an "Oriental League" including not only these three Moslem states but China. In the opinion of the present writer, for what it is worth, this is a false alarm. No doubt the Turkish Nationalists, like the Chinese Nationalists, have cause to be grateful to the Russians for the exceedingly effective assistance which the Russians have given them in their hour of need. Gratitude, however, is oft an evanescent emotion in international relations. "We shall astonish you by our ingratitude," said an Austrian diplomatist to a Russian diplomatist after Russia had saved the Hapsburg Monarchy from destruction in 1849, and contemporary Russian statesmen are likely to suffer the same disillusionment at the hands of young Turkey and young China. In Turkish and Chinese minds, gratitude for recent Russian services is likely to be stifled by memories

of Russian encroachments in the past and by an uneasy consciousness that Russia remains exceedingly close at hand and exceedingly powerful. Moreover, these other Orientals do not appear to be attracted by Russian culture. They do not want to exchange one Oriental civilization for another. They want to acquire the civilization of the West and in some form to enter the comity of Western nations. The obvious form, in the world of today, is membership in the League. On this account, it seems more probable that the now unattached Moslem states—sooner or later and one by one—will apply for admission to the League, rather than that they will range themselves with Soviet Russia or attempt to form some separate Pan-Islamic group of their own.

London. ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

A SYSTEM OF SAND DIVINATION[1]

The method of foretelling the future, here described, is that practised by the Arabs. The Mahāmīd and Ta'āīsha are said to be particularly expert in it, but it is common in northern and central Kordofan and probably, also, all over the northern Sudan. Other methods, practised by non-Arab tribes, such as Zaghāwa, Nūba and Kāra, are of little interest, for the marks in the sand and the accompanying mutterings merely serve to conceal from the credulous client that the seer is relying solely on his imagination; but the Arab system is elaborate and intelligible, and the seer can justify his prophecies in detail from the writing in the sand. It is called "Khatt El Rammāl," and an exponent of it is called a "Khattāt" or "Khattāti." It differs from mere fortune-telling in that it is applied to determine only one particular event, such as the result of a search for a lost animal, of an illness, of a hunting-expedition, or of an attempt to collect a debt.

At a propitious hour, noon, or one-third of the day before or after noon, the Khattāt having prepared a smooth patch of sand, his client places the tip of the middle finger of his right hand on the ground and states to himself, not aloud, the "nīya," or object of his quest.

Also with the tip of the middle finger of his right hand, the Khattāt makes in the sand four lines of finger prints of random length and then counts off the prints of each line, in pairs, to see if it contains an odd or an even number. If the former, one print is left over at

o o,o o,o o/,o o
o o,o o/,o
o o,o o,o o,o o/o
o o,o o,o o/,o

Fig. 1.

[1] Reprinted by special permission from *Sudan Notes* Khartum.

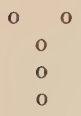


Fig. 2.

the end of the line: if the latter, two. Fig. 1 shows an example, 'o's representing finger-prints. The prints thus left over are then recorded one below the other on the smooth sand, forming a little figure (Fig. 2) and the lines of prints are smoothed out. This process is repeated four times, the resulting figures being placed in order from right to left. Fig. 3 illustrates this stage of the proceedings.

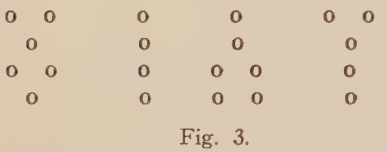


Fig. 3.

The four figures thus obtained "breed" the whole of the Khatt shown in Fig. 4 in the following manner. "House" No. 5 contains the figure formed by taking in order the top components of the figures in "houses" No. 1, 2, 3 and 4. The four components next below these give the figure in house No. 6; those next below that in No. 7; and those at the bottom, that in No. 8. The figure in No. 9 is bred from those in No. 1 and 2. The two top

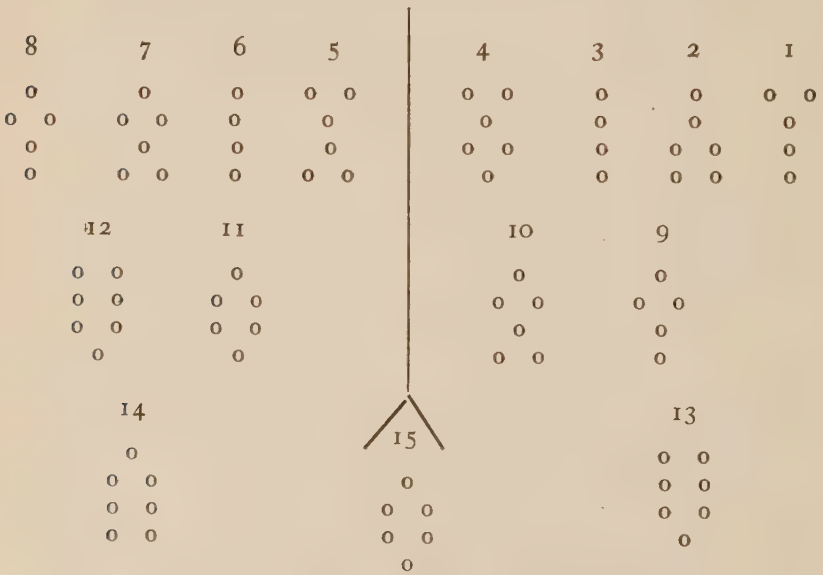


Figure 4.

components are combined to form the new top component, which is a single print if the combined components amount

to an odd number of prints, and a double print when they amount to an even number. Similarly the remaining components of the figure in No. 9 are derived by combining in pairs the remaining components of Nos. 1 and 2. In exactly the same way, Nos. 3 and 4 breed No. 10; No. 5 and 6 breed No. 11; Nos. 7 and 8 breed No. 12; Nos. 9 and 10 breed No. 13; Nos. 11 and 12 breed No. 14; and Nos. 13 and 14 breed No. 15.

The "houses" containing the figures are named as follows, those on the right pertaining to the searcher and those on the left, with exceptions to be noted later, to his enemy, e. g., the thief of his stolen animal or the defaulting debtor:

No. 1:—Beit el Nīya, the house of the object of the quest.

No. 2:—Teni El Beit, the repetition of No. 1.

No. 3 and 4:—Buyūt El Jīrān, the neighbor's houses.

No. 5:—El Beit El Muqābila, the house opposite.

No. 6:—Beit El Zulm, the house of wrong.

No. 7:—Sābi' El Buyūt, the seventh house.

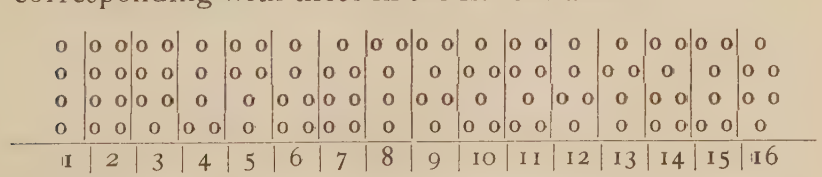
No. 8:—El Shatteir, the double-faced.

Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 are each a Watid, a peg.

Nos. 13 and 14 are each a Farāsh, a bed.

Nos. 15:—El Khātima or Majma' El Khatt, the seal or sum total of the Khatt.

There are sixteen possible figures, which provide, as it were, the vocabulary of the Khatt. They are named and described as follows, the numbers under the diagrams corresponding with those in the list of names.



1. Tarīq, a road, indicating a journey.
2. Tiql, an ape, a man of empty talk.
3. Jihīn or Abu Heila, a fikih, red in color.
4. Rakīza, a woman who brings news.

5. Rasn, a head-rope, indicating a journey.

6. Jebbār, a powerful sheikh or notable.

7. Ḥurr, a tall yellow man with a fire-mark or pock-mark in mid-forehead.

8. Rāiya, a tall woman, like a flag, full of words.

9. Qābid, indicating a successful seizure of an animal, etc.

10. Khārij, an indication of a journey, or selling, or loss of a stolen animal, etc.

11. Beyyād, a poor unimportant man.

12. Jōdala, a woman of no importance.

13. Mahzūm, a stouthearted man, the thief (if found in the enemy's houses), but weaker than Jebbār.

14. Humra', a red woman, with face-markings, an indication of blood.

15. Dāmir, a hungry man on a journey.

16. Ṣurra, a woman of good omen.

It is to be noticed that these figures, read from left to right, are complementary to each other in pairs, the one having a single print where the other has two. This relationship is interpreted to mean that Jihīn and Rakīza are man and wife, as also are Ḥurr and Raiya, Beyyād and Jōdala, Mahzūm and Ḥumra', Ḍāmir and Surra'. Jebbār and Rasn are brothers, and so are Qābid and Khārij. No relationship is recognized between Ṭarīq and Tiql.

Those figures which contain an even number of prints are said to be *helu,* sweet, or of good omen, while those which contain an odd number are *murr,* bitter, or ill-omened, when they occur in those houses which pertain to the searcher; vice versa when they occur in the houses of the enemy.

As has been noted already, the searcher's houses are those on the right, but in addition to these "the seventh house" belongs to him, presumably because seven is a lucky number. Further, the figure in No. 8, "the double faced," will never be actively hostile, while if its complementary figure is found in any of houses No. 1 to 4, it will

"come over" to the searcher's side, unless it is prevented by the presence of its complementary figure in its *watid,* No. 12. In general the *awtād* exert a detaining influence. Thus, while a Rasn in No. 1 would indicate a journey on the part of the searcher, if it were combined with a Jebbār in No. 9 the inference would be that the journey would be delayed by some powerful person. Two figures of the same kind in houses No. 1 to 4 would bring over a third figure of the same kind, found in the enemy's houses, to the aid of the searcher. It would thus appear that the enemy is considerably handicapped in the struggle; and, as a further precaution against a complete dashing of his hopes, the searcher has the right to try the Khatt three times, if a preliminary inspection of the first two tries should show the omens to be unfavorable.

The figure in No. 15, "the sum total of the Khatt," indicates the general trend of the search. Should it be a Qābid the seeker for a lost animal or the collector of a debt would consider it a conclusive omen of speedy success, for, as the jingle goes, *"Qābid fī 'l 'īd, mā ba' īd,"* "Should Qābid appear, success is near." Conversely, a Khārij in No. 15, in the same circumstances, would be the worst possible omen.

Clearly a Khatt will often be susceptible of an elaborate interpretation, according to the skill and imaginative power of the Khattāt. Sometimes, however, a weighty, or even a decisive, omen appears at once. The following are some examples.

Identical figures in houses No. 1 and No. 2 are infallibly a bad omen for the searcher, for, as the rhyme says, *"Sadaqū el tīwān, wa law turqān,"* "Twin-figures speak the truth, even if they be Ṭarīqs"—the Ṭariq being the most insignificant of all the figures. In particular, when the fate of a sick man is in question, a Jihīn in each of Nos. 1 and 2 means that he will certainly die, while if the search is for a lost animal, a Khārij in each of these houses means that there is no chance of success.

If game is the object, a Ḥumra' in No. 9 signifies blood and indicates a successful hunt.

A Ḥumra' in No. 1, with no similar figure anywhere else in the Khatt, means that the red woman has sworn that the quest shall succeed. Therefore they say *"El Ḥumra', leban fi 'umra,"* the Ḥumra' means milk in the vessel," for to have milk to drink is to be in luck. But a Ḥumra' elsewhere in the Khatt gives the lie to a Ḥumra' in No. 1.

A Jebbār in No. 9 with a Ṭarīq in No. 10 forms a good omen which sets the mind of the seeker at rest and enables him to say, *"Ṭībat khātir, dihik el fawātir,"* "Laughter showing the teeth goes with a mind at ease."

The Qābid in No. 15 has already been referred to. One of my informants made his name as a Khattāt by "throwing" the Khatt for some police who came at night to his village looking for an escaped prisoner. Seeing a Qābid as the "seal" of the Khatt, he prophesied immediate success to a search of the village and the prisoner was duly caught in one of the houses. Conversely, a Qābid in No. 5 or No. 6 would indicate that the thief had a pretty firm hold on the stolen animal, or that the debtor was most unlikely to pay up, as the case might be.

A Ḍāmir in No. 1 or No. 2 is lucky but implies a tiring search. The same figure in No. 9 indicates great toil before success is achieved, while in No. 10 it points to an easier search. In No. 15 a Ḍāmir is called a "Ḍāmin" and spells success in a lawful quest but non-success in an unlawful one.

Further examples of the interpretation of the Khatt might be continued indefinitely, but enough have been given to show the general method.

The nomad Arab appears to spend a considerable portion of his life in quests for lost or stolen animals, so it is not surprising that an elaborate system of divination should have been evolved to ascertain the results of such searches; and, since hope springs eternal, it is only human nature that in the majority of cases an interpretation of

the Khatt should be possible which allows to the searcher at least a sporting chance of success. Equally naturally, as in most other oracles, there is a certain measure of ambiguity for the protection of the Khattāt.

As a tribute to the nice adjustment of the system and to the skill of its exponents it must be recorded that on the only occasions, three in number, when serious trial of the Khatt has been made in the presence of the writer, the forecast of the Khattāt has each time been justified by the event.

Khartum, Sudan. R. DAVIES.

THE WOMAN SAINT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM

The woman saint made her appearance early in the history of Islam, and it is to be noted in the evolution of the worship of saints by the Moslems, that this dignity was applied to women as much as men. In the matter of saintship we find complete equality between the sexes. The tendency of the Moslems, after the death of the Prophet, to exalt both Mohammed and his descendants to a position almost equal to that of Divinity, led naturally to the exaltation also of the women of this sacred family. Among them was the Lady Fatima, daughter of the Prophet and wife of 'Ali, the fourth Caliph, who, in spite of the shortness of her life—for she died at the age of twenty-eight, only six months after her father—was, and is, revered as a saint throughout the length and breadth of Islam. Hardly a Moslem family is to be found without a Fatima among its daughters and this is certainly the commonest of all names among Mohammedan women today.

But it was mainly the development of mysticism (Sufism) within Islam, which gave women their great opportunity to attain the rank of sainthood. The goal of the Sufi's quest was union with the Divine and the Sufi seeker after God, being purged of self and its desires, set foot on the mystic way, and having renounced this world and its attractions, passed from one spiritual station to another, until at last, inflamed with a passion of love, he achieved the heavenly *gnosis* and attained to the Vision of God, in which the loving soul might become one with the Beloved, and abide in Him for ever. Such a conception of the relations between the saint and his Lord left

no room for the distinction of sex. In the spiritual life, there could be "neither male nor female." All whom God had called to be saints could attain to union with Himself, and all who attained would have their royal rank in the world to come.

So the title of saint was bestowed upon women equally with men, and since Islam has no priestly caste, there was nothing to prevent a woman reaching the highest rank in the hierarchy of Moslem saints. Some theologians even name the Lady Fatima as the first *Qutb,* or spiritual head of the Sufi fellowship.[1] Jami, the Persian poet, (ob. 1492 A. D.) says that someone was asked, "How many are the *Abdal?*"[2] and he answered, "Forty souls." Asked why he did not say "Forty men," he replied, "Because there have been women among them."[3]

The biographies of the saints, both Arabic and Persian, are full of the mention of women Sufis, their saintly lives, their good deeds and their miracles. The influence which these women saints exerted, both during their lives and after their death, is perhaps best proved by the fact that Moslem theologians opposed to the Sufi movement, denounce also these women saints and the worship known to be given to them.[4]

The high position attained by the women Sufis is further attested by the fact that the Sufis themselves give to a woman the first place among the earliest mystics and have chosen her to be the representative of the first development of mysticism in Islam.[5] This was the saintly Rabi'a, known as *al-'Adawiyya,* who was born in Basra about the end of the first century of Islam and died there in 185 A. H. (801 A. D.) The legends which surround her name may not correspond to historic facts, but at least they give some idea of her personality and show the estimation in which she was held by her contemporaries and those who lived after her.

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[1] Goldziher. "Muham. Studien" II, p. 300.
[2] Below the Qutb are four Naqibs or assistants and below them are the Abdal.
[3] Jami. "Nafahat al-Uno," p. 716. (Ed. Nassau Lees)
[4] Goldziher. Op. cit. II, p. 300.
[5] Cf. Dozy. "Hist. de l'Islamisme," pp. 318, 319. (Tr. Chauvin)

Born into the poorest of homes, miraculous events were reputed to have taken place even at her birth.[6] A famine and the breaking up of her home and family led to her being sold as a slave and suffering much ill-treatment from her master. But one night he heard her praying and saw a halo of light about her head and the next day he set her free and from that time she devoted herself to the service of God and the life of contemplation.[7] Her life was one of true sanctity, not only conforming to the Islamic ideal of a saint, but corresponding very closely to the Christian standard. A modern author writes of her that she died at a ripe old age, "leaving in Islam a perfume of sancity which has not passed away." [8] The same writer says of her, "Rabi'a is the saint par excellence of the Sunnite hagiography." [9]

Rabi'a had many disciples and followers, who came to her for instruction and advice and to ask her for her prayers. Among those who sought her out to listen to her discourse and ask for her prayers was a well-known Sufi, Sufyan al-Thawry. One day he entered her presence when she was reciting from the Koran and said in her hearing, "O God, I ask Thee for peace." Rabi'a wept and when he asked her the reason, she said, "Do you not know that peace in this world comes only from renouncing it, and you are still clinging to it?" He asked her once: "What is the best thing for the disciple to do, who desires to come near to God Most High?" She said, "To possess nothing in this world or the next save Him alone." [10]

Sufyan said to her one day, "Alas, for my sorrow." But she said, "You are insincere. Say, rather, alas for my lack of sorrow. If you were sorrowful in truth, then life and its pleasures would not attract you so much." [11]

Hasan of Basra, a devotee whose mysticism was always darkened by the shadow of fear, is spoken of by Rabi'a's

[6] 'Attar. "Tadhkirat al-Awliya." I, p. 60. (Ed. Nicholson)
[7] 'Attar. Op. cit. I, p. 61.
[8] Massignon. "Lexique Technique." p. 193.
[9] Massignon. "Textes Inedits relatifs a la Mystique Musulmane," p. 5.
[10] Jami. "Nafahat, al-Uno," p. 716.
[11] Sha'rany. "Tabaqat al-Kubra,'" p. 86.

biographers as a frequent visitor to her house and as definitely acknowledging her greater gifts, both as regards the inner life and the true gnosis, and the favour shown to her by God. When he tried to persuade her to work miracles for his benefit, she rebuked his desire for vainglory. He is related to have said: "I passed one whole night and day with Rabi'a, speaking of the Way and the Truth, and it never passed through my mind that I was a man, nor did it occur to her that she was a woman and at the end, when I looked at her, I saw myself as spiritually worth nothing, and Rabi'a as really sincere in her faith." [12]

Rabi'a was an ascetic who followed the path of poverty and self-denial to the end. Again and again her friends would have given her gifts to alleviate her poverty and discomfort, but she refused them all and looked only to the Lord she served, to provide for the needs of His servant. For some time after her release from slavery, she lived the life of a recluse in a cell in the desert and even after her return to Basra, she lived apart from the world, so far as her disciples and visitors allowed of it. Once, in springtime, her handmaid begged her to come out from her seclusion into the fresh air to behold the works of God, but Rabi'a said to her, "Come you inside that you may behold Him who made them. Contemplation of the Maker has turned me aside from looking at what He has made." [13]

It has been well said that "in Mohammedan mysticism it is prayer that supplies the best evidence of personality—not the ritual prayer (*salat*), but the free prayer (*du'a*) and in particular, the loving converse with God (*munajat*), when the mystic speaks out of the depths of his heart"; and Rabi'a's prayers reveal her personality more clearly perhaps than anything else. All her biographers speak of her persistence in prayer, to which she gave up her nights. When she saw the dawn grow golden, she would pray thus:

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[12] 'Attar. Op. cit. I, p. 65.
[13] 'Attar. Op. cit. p. 68.
[14] R. A. Nicholson. "The Idea of Personality in Sufism." p. 36.

"O God, the night has passed and the day has dawned, how I long to know if Thou hast accepted my prayers, or if Thou hast rejected them. In this state of mind, comfort me, with Thy consolation. Thou hast given me life and hast provided for me, and Thine is the glory. . . . O my Joy and Desire, and Refuge, my Friend and my Sustainer and my Goal, Thou art my Abiding-place and Thou art to me as a friend, and Thy love sustains me. . . . How many favours have I desired and how many hast Thou bestowed on me, of gifts and grace and help. . . . I have none beside Thee, Who can make the desert blossom. Thou alone canst cleanse me from my sin. If Thou art satisfied with me, then, O Joy of my heart, I have my desire." [15]

Again she prayed, "O God, my concern and my desire in this world is that I should remember Thee above all the things of this world, and in the next, that out of all who are in that world, I should meet with Thee alone." [16]

As a teacher of mysticism Rabi'a was greatly revered by the Sufis and all their great writers speak of her teaching and quote her words as of the highest authority. 'Attar says of her that she walked in the path of God like a man, and he goes further and says that Rabi'a was unique and in her relationship with God and her possession of the heavenly *gnosis* she had no equal.

She, almost the first among the Moslem mystics, sought the way to God through Love. 'Attar speaks of her as on fire with love, consumed with her craving for God, and a writer of the present day says of her: "With Rabi'a . . . Love, the unquenchable flame smouldering in the ashes of ceremonial religion and kindling the torch of mysticism through the darkest ages, began its conquest of Mohammedan hearts." [17] In well-known verses she compares the love which seeks its own end with that love which seeks only the Beloved and His glory.

Both Abu Talib,[18] author of the "Qut al-Qulub," almost the earliest work on Sufism, and Al-Ghazali, who deals with the subject in a spirit of philosophic criticism, comment at length on her doctrine of Love.

While most of her contemporaries were obsessed with the fear of hell and dread lest they should be excluded

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[15] Huraifish. "Raud al-Fa'iq." p. 213.
[16] 'Attar. Op. cit. p. 73.
[17] R. A. Nicholson. Selected Poems. Introd. p. XXVIII.
[18] Ob. 996, A. D.

from paradise, Rabi'a gave a higher and more spiritual content to her eschatological teaching. Hell to her meant exclusion from the vision of God, paradise without Him held no joys for her. When she was asked about paradise she said, "First the neighbor, then the house"; and Al-Ghazali explains that she meant that in her heart was no leaning to paradise, but to the Lord of paradise, and those who did not know God as Friend in this world, could not hope to see Him in the next.[19] She was asked, "Do you love the Lord of Glory?" She said, "I do." She was asked again, "Do you see Him when you worship?" and she said, "If I did not see Him, I should not worship Him."

Rabi'a was the greatest of the women mystics of Islam and certainly made the greatest contribution of any woman towards the development of Sufism, but there were many other women of her time and after her, who were revered as saints and had some contribution to make.

Another great saint, of a different type from Rabi'a, was the Lady Nafisa, great-granddaughter of Hasan, (son of Caliph 'Ali) who was born at Mecca in the year 145 A. H., and brought up at Medina to a life spent in good works and the worship of God. She used to fast all day and to spend the night in prayer. She married a son of the Imam J'afar al-Sadiq and after her marriage settled in Cairo. She was reputed to know the Koran and its commentaries by heart and was so versed in religious knowledge that even her great contemporary, the Imam al-Shafi'i, used to come and listen to her discourses, so great was his respect for the scholarship of this saintly woman.[20] We are told that she was famous throughout Egypt and that she won the approbation of all, both individuals and the people generally, who revered her for her good works, her frequent pilgrimages, her endless fasts and her nights spent in prayer. She died in Cairo in the year 208 A. H. When she died, the people assembled from all the villages and towns around and

[19] Ihya IV, p. 269. (Ed. Bulac. 1334 A. H.)
[20] Ibn Khallikan. "Wafayat al-A'yan." p. 90. No. 777.

lighted candles that night, and the sound of the wailing for the dead was heard from every house in Cairo. Her shrine is visited even now by travellers. Many miracles were related of the Lady Nafisa, showing her charity towards others. It is told how one year the Nile failed to rise in flood at the usual time and the people were in great distress, fearing lest they would perish from famine, so they came to the saint, appealing for her help. She gave them her veil and bade them cast it into the river and when they had done so, immediately the river rose in an unusually high flood, and the people were saved.

Another miracle attributed to the Lady Nafisa is related in a story which tells how in a neighbour's house there was a poor Jewish girl, completely crippled by arthritis. One day her parents, having to leave her to go to the market, asked their saintly neighbour to take charge of the invalid. Nafisa came and prayed beside her, and through the saint's prayer, the sick girl regained the use of her limbs, and both she and her parents hastened to embrace the religion of their benefactress.[21]

Others there were, famous for their good deeds and their charity, or for their wisdom or their writings, or for the mystic states into which they fell and beheld visions and heard wonders "not lawful to be uttered." Some devoted themselves to religious learning and were known as *Sheikhas*.

Such was the famous Shuhda, who died about 1179 A. D., and is frequently named by writers. Ibn Khallikan relates that she was surnamed *Fakhr al-Nisa* (the Glory of Women) and *al-Katiba* (the woman scribe), and was born and died at Baghdad. By her learning, she acquired an extensive reputation and ranked among the first scholars of the age; she wrote a beautiful hand, and instructed great numbers in the Traditions, which she had received from the highest authorities, thus connecting the traditionists of the rising generation with those of the past.[22]

[21] Munawi. Al-Kawakib al-Durriyya fol. 136.
[22] Ibn Khallikan. Tr. de Slane, I p. 625.

Another of these *Sheikhas,* or religious teachers was Zaynab, daughter of Al-Shari the Sufi. She was born at Naysabur in 1130 A. D. and died there in 1218-19 A. D. She was said to be a woman of great instruction, who had studied under a number of persons eminent for their learning, from whom she obtained certificates authorizing her to teach that information and traditional knowledge which she had acquired under their tuition. Among her masters were famous scholars of the time. She also received licenses to teach, and in her turn she granted licenses to her pupils, among whom was her biographer.[23]

A very interesting figure among the women saints of Islam, of a distinct type from these already mentioned, was a princess who lived in the seventeenth century called Fatima, daughter of the Mogul emperor, Shah Jahan and his empress Mumtaz Mahal (to whose memory her devoted husband erected the famous Taj Mahal). Her brother had become the disciple of a famous saint and teacher named Molla-Shah, and impressed by her brother's account of him, the princess wrote him several letters expressing her desire also to become a novice on the Mystic Way. Being convinced at last that she was sincere and determined, he decided to grant her his full sympathy, and he initiated her as a novice. She relates how she afterwards repaired to the chapel in her palace and remained there till midnight, then made the night prayer and returned to her apartments. There she had a vision, as she believed, of God Himself and prostrated herself, full of unlimited gratitude, before the Throne of Absolute Being. She says of her experience:

"Oh, what immeasurable happiness, what unheard-of joy has been given to me, a weak and unworthy woman! I render thanks and praise without end to the All-Powerful, to this incomprehensible God Who, when my life appeared to be spent uselessly, allowed me to vow myself to His service and granted me immediately to attain the desired end of union with Him, in committing myself thus to the ocean of eternal truth and to the source of mystic knowledge. . . . I cherish the hope that God will permit me to march with a firm step and with unshakeable courage along this Path . . . and that my soul may taste

[23] Ibn Khallikan. Tr. de Slane, I p. 551.

always the supreme happiness of the power of thinking of Him. May God be praised Who . . . has granted to me, a poor woman, the gift of conceiving of the Absolute Being in the most complete manner, as I had always desired. Whoever does not possess knowledge of the Absolute Being is not a human being, he belongs to those of whom it is said, 'They are as animals and still most ignorant.'[24] Every man who has obtained this supreme happiness, becomes by this very fact the most accomplished and the most noble of beings and his individual existence is lost in the absolute existence; he becomes as a drop in the ocean, an atom in the sun, a particle in the face of totality. Arrived at this state, he is above death, future punishment, paradise or hell; whether it be man or woman, such a one is always the most nearly perfect of human beings. This is a favour from God which he grants to whom He will."

The princess persevered in the study of mysticism and attained to such a degree of perfection that she reached pure union with God and the heavenly gnosis. Her spiritual director, Molla-Shah, used to say of her, "She has obtained a degree of mystic knowledge so extraordinary that she would be worthy to act on my behalf, instead of myself."[25]

So we see that in spite of the disabilities under which women in Islam have suffered throughout the centuries, in respect of lack of education, and social subordination, and want of opportunity to develop their natural capacities, some few have, from time to time, risen above their disadvantages, and, by force of moral character or by outstanding ability, have compelled an acknowledgment of their superior gifts. Such women as these whose religious enthusiasm took the form of studying and teaching the sacred love of Islam, together with those who truly walked with God and could more properly claim the name of saints, must be reckoned among the religious leaders of their time, and they had their definite contribution to make towards the development and spiritual vitality of the religion of Islam.

London. MARGARET SMITH

[24] Koran. Sura VII. 178.
[25] Von Kremer. Journal Asiatique. Feb. 1869, pp. 143-146.

THE MOSLEM MIND IN TURKEY TODAY

The Moslem in Turkey today, the man who wishes to follow the Koran and tradition, finds himself in real difficulties. Islam lays down the law for him not only in the realm of religion, but in that of civil and social relations. But the law of the land has deliberately left this standard, and is now following the codes of foreign non-Moslem lands: Switzerland in the civil code, Italy in the criminal, and Germany in the commercial. Further, there is no longer a caliph to whom to appeal for decisions. Mosque schools, taught by religious men on the basis of the Koran, have all been abolished, and religion practically taken out of the government schools. The dervish orders have been abolished and their property taken from them. No longer may one wear a *fez,* but forsooth one must perform his *namaz* (prayer service) with bare head or a distorted hat! If one is in government employ, he must do full work during the entire month of *Ramazan,* during which one has always been granted short working hours so that he might fast—refrain from eating, drinking, and smoking from earliest dawn till sunset of each day. If a man can save the money, he should go on pilgrimage to Mecca. But now the Government taxes you an amount which they reckon as equivalent to the total of your other expenses. Women used to be protected by their seclusion, but now they fare forth in the very midst of men. One can still date private papers from the *Hegira* of Mohammed, but everything public must be dated in European style, which means from the birth of Christ!

When, in 1926, Mahmoud Essad Bey, for the Department of Justice, presented the new civil code to Ismet Pasha, the prime minister, he said: "By separating religion from [legal control of] life, the modern state has established for religion a true and eternal throne in the conscience." [1]

And the conservative Moslem asks in his heart, "Whose conscience?"

Further quotation from this same address of Mahmoud Essad Bey shows the prime aim of the new government of Turkey, and explains its various actions in regard to religion and religious institutions.

"We must never forget that the Turkish nation has decided to accept modern civilization and its principles without any condition or reservation. . . . the Turkish nation, which is energetically striving to make modern civilization its own, is obliged not to adapt it to Turkish ways but to adjust our ways to it at all costs." [2]

"The first characteristic of modern civilization is the separation of religion from [legal control of] life. Any other course would mean that the law would dominate the consciences of persons who did [not ?] accept the religious principles of the state. . . . Religion should be respected by the state as long as it remains in the sphere of conscience. The introduction of religion into law has been throughout history a means of satisfying kings and despots and potentates." [3]

"On the day that the Turkish civil code is accepted, the Turkish nation will be saved from false beliefs, traditions, and fluctuations which have encumbered it during thirteen centuries past; it will close the doors to the old civilization, and will enter into the contemporary world of life and progress." [4]

It is correct to infer from this statement that the present Turkish Government believes that the religion of Mohammed has kept their nation from natural progress

[1] Current History, July, 1926, page 582.
[2] Idem, page 580.
[3-4] Idem, page 582.

through the centuries; that the state must disregard any religion or religious group that interferes with progress toward the desired new civilization; and that, beyond such interference, religion is free.

This policy of the Government has been adopted by men with a single dominant purpose, the attainment by Turkey of modern, that is, Western civilization. All come from Moslem stock, but none accept the Islam of their fathers. They may believe in a reformed Islam, they may combine belief in one God with varying degress of idealism, or they may have gone over to a strict materialism. The trend of the Government and of the slowly growing educated class is from Islam toward a civilization which shall contain what they feel to be the valuable elements of Western life.

Since our subject is the *Moslem* mind in Turkey, we omit the consideration of the views of the materialist. The conservative Moslem likewise can take but little of our time, since his state of mind may easily be understood when we think of him helplessly watching a secular state encroach on what has been the domain of religion. And so we come to the modern, liberal Moslem.

How does he adjust his modernism to old Islam? First of all, he says that some of its requirements were suited to and meant for times that are past. The military officer with high laced boots feels it unnecessary to wash his feet each time before *namaz*—that was an order for the bare-legged men of the desert. Mufti Zade Zia feels able to assure us that "the only restriction on women in the Koran is that they should not appear in public places unless covered from breasts to ankles," [5] although this is quite contrary to the common understanding of the thirty-third Sura. Others choose as representative verses those which seem to us quite contrary to the main teaching of the Koran. Thus, despite a multiplicity of contrary texts, [6] the exhortation, "Let there be no compulsion in re-

[5] Mufti Zade K. Zia Bey, "Speaking of the Turks", New York, Duffield, 1922. Page 59.

[6] Koran 2:192, 4:143, 8:29, 8:68, 9:5, etc.

ligion," [7] is often quoted to show the complete freedom of religion granted by the religion of Mohammed.

Amir Ali, "the twentieth century defender of Islam," states that "the elasticity of laws is their great test, and this test is preeminently possessed by those of Islam. Their compatibility with progress shows their founder's wisdom." [8] Let us take one instance frequently used to explain this elasticity. Although Mohammed was allowed to have a larger number of wives—in order that with self-sacrifice he might care for them, men in general were limited to four, which was a real limitation for the Arab of that day. Now consider two verses. The first reads, "And if ye fear that ye shall not act equitably [with your wives], then [take] one only:" [9] the other, "Ye will not have it at all in your power to treat your wives alike, even though you fain would do so." [10] The second of these introduces an admonition to treat their several wives as equitably as may be. Hence, we are told, Islam is such a religion that in the time of Mohammed polygamy was limited and good treatment of wives enjoined. The same two commands, however, when read by us with our modern knowledge, lead to the inevitable conclusion that polygamy is contrary to the will of God and may no longer be practiced.

Halidé Edib's account of her college-day thinking shows in interesting fashion how a Moslem may continue as such while yet reaching out for and adopting truths from other sources. "The reverent and emotional tendency of my soul, and its absolute need of a spiritual reality higher than the human realities I had so far touched, was foremost. I had hitherto been a faithful Moslem in heart and practice, but I was not orthodox in mind. . . . I believed, like Ghazali, . . . that the mind could not rightly be required to accept any barriers in its continual search for higher truths, which should properly

[7] Koran 2:257, and see 33:47.
[8] Anonymous, "Is a reformed Islam possible?" In The Moslem World, 1926, page 238.
[9] Koran 4:3.
[10] Koran 4:128.

strengthen, rather than weaken its faith. . . . Yet it is strange to me to recall at this earlier period the action and reaction of my soul and of my thought as of distinctly dual personalities. While I was free from all material and past influences in moments of unrepressed thinking, some other part of me, a strange and distinct part, claimed to be the outcome of Islamic culture, a product of mosques, candles, cemeteries, and set prayers." [11]

While many of us believe that the Islam of the Koran has not and cannot by itself produce the ideals and the power of the "abundant life" which we know, we do well to note that the Turks are not without ideals nor without ideal actions. Dr. John Dewey, of Columbia, after a stay in Turkey as educational adviser to the Government, writes that "The ultimate ground for confidence [in the future of Turkey] is the fact that the Turks have that intangible thing which we call character." [12] And if we may return to Halidé Hanum, her "conclusion is to teach all the coming generations the love of our kind, the constant struggle for a higher state of national morality, a better adjustment and greater equality among all peoples: these are the only fundamental conditions which can make life possible and lasting on the globe." [13]

Now if Turkey is to attain to these fundamental conditions, she must learn that love is of God, who is Himself love. It is therefore pertinent to ask what attitude Moslems in that land take toward missionaries and toward their message.

Of course there is opposition. Mufti Zade Zia thinks that missionaries and relief workers find it easier to perpetuate tales of atrocities and thus stay in their work, than to undo these tales and work for the Turks.[14] When official permission was requested in a certain interior city for the opening of an orphanage for Turkish children, per-

[11] Halide Edib, "Memoirs of Halide Edib", New York, Century, 1926. Pages 191-192.
[12] Quoted by F. F. Goodsell in "The new leadership in Turkey", in "The Foreign Mission Convention at Washington, 1925", New York, Revell, 1925. Page 24.
[13] Halide Edib, "Memoirs", page 328.
[14] Mufti Zade Zia, "Speaking of the Turks", page 48.

mission was denied, on the basis that to grant it would be the equivalent of saying that the Government could not look out for its own children.[15] Ismail Mushtak believes it a corollary of Turkish nationalism that "Turkish children ought to be educated by Turkish educators only. . . . So then, just as soon as we have good schools in sufficient numbers, we shall immediately and without hesitation profoundly thank the foreign educators whose humanitarian mission among us will then be terminated." [16]

But despite all opposition, of whatever variety, missions have been surprisingly favored by the Turkish Governments since the outbreak of the war. With diplomatic relations between the two countries broken, with practically all the relief and educational work being done for Armenians and Greeks, who were generally considered as worse than traitors, missionary work has been allowed to continue. Yes, some schools have been closed and individual missionaries sent out of the country, some stations were wiped out by war conditions, but the fact remains that missionary work is continuing in ten or more Turkish centers, and more workers would be employed were the money available. Again, with the new secularization, all schools conducted by Moslem religious communities were closed without condition. Our schools were allowed to continue on condition of refraining from formal religious instruction. This is a handicap, but we remember that similar restrictions were imposed in Japan in 1899, but have been gradually and completely removed.[17] And while we wait for these conditions to change, we are able to give formal teaching in ethics, and to talk religion with such individuals as are interested.

The terms "Christian" and "Christianity" have varied meanings in Turkey. They may recall the crusaders who sought to take from the Moslems places which were

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[15] Place and date can be quoted.
[16] In the Constantinople Daily Tanin, of uncertain date in 1924.
[17] "The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa, A year book of Christian Work", published by the Federation of Christian Missions in Japan. See especially Vol. II, 1904, page 135, and Vol. XXII, 1924, page 142.

sacred to those Moslems. They may bring to mind politically restless subject peoples. Europe calls herself Christian, but is hostile, deceitful, and wages war. America, which is in many ways humanitarian, treats her Negroes with contempt, revels in scandal, and has now even drawn her priestly robes about her and gone by on the other side, unwilling even to speak—diplomatically—with the new Turkish Republic. A Constantinople daily, the *Yeni Sess,* remarks editorially: ". . . light of Christ . . . As for us, we have not seen the light of Christ, but for centuries we have seen his fire, which has consumed all Turks both young and old." [18]

But fortunately this is not the whole story. A 1921 report estimates that between eight and nine thousand Bibles and portions are sold annually to Turks.[19] Halidé Hanum, while lamenting the hard intolerance of Christianity, believes this spirit contrary to that of Christ, who struck one of the supreme notes of life, love.[20] A professor of the Turkish University, who was at the time also a deputy to the National Assembly, attended the opening of the Y. M. C. A. in Stamboul, Constantinople, and there said: "You [of the Y. M. C. A.] do not teach vague theories, but you practice virtue itself. I believe you will succeed in eventually bringing together types of nations and individuals and in giving them the highest humane sentiments. I believe this is the highest ideal, which was for the first time proclaimed by the Christian religion and is the spirit of every true religion." [21]

I have heard the remark several times, once in a government office, "If the Turks ever change their religion, they will become Protestants." Individuals here and there have done so. And legally there is now no objection. Any person eighteen years of age or over may follow the religion of his choice.

An educated Turk, a resident of Constantinople, at-

[18] Editorial, September 21, 1926.
[19] Stenographic report of discussion at the Annual Meeting of The Western Turkey Mission, July 6, 1921. On file at rooms of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.
[20] Halide Edib, "Memoirs", pages 221, 222.
[21] "Stamboul Branch of the Y. M. C. A., Constantinople, Report for May, 1921." On file, A. B. C. F. M., Boston.

tended the recent Y. M. C. A. conference at Helsingfors, Finland. While there he made a statement which classed him with those sitting at the feet of Jesus and learning of Him. Many of the Turkish papers made much ado, but the government had nothing to say other than that the new religious liberty gave a person the right to change his religion, even from Islam.[22]

Then there is another instance not so widely known. In an interior city some Turkish children were found attending Protestant services of worship. The whole matter was reported to Angora, which replied that the officials concerned should keep their hands off, as the Government did not mix in matters of religion. It might be added that the Government would have interfered had this occurred in a school, for then it would have touched the matter of education, where religious instruction of one faith may not be given to children of another.

It is trite to say that Turkey is changing. She is trying to advance in years, where the West has taken centuries. She is deliberately seeking, is searching the nations for new ways, the best ways of life. Is it too much to believe that they that seek shall find—shall find the Way, the Truth, and the Life?

WM. SAGE WOOLWORTH, JR.

[22] A private letter from Constantinople.

ISLAM AND MOSLEM*

These are names given by Mohammedans to the religion handed down by Mohammed, and to his followers, respectively.

In Arabic dictionaries, the following, among other meanings, are given:

(1) *Islám*—the Mohammedan religion, the true or orthodox faith among Mohammedans, the religion of Mohammed.
(2) *Muslim*—a true believer in the Mohammedan faith, a Musalman, a Moslem, (plural *Muslimin*).

Such are the meaning that Mohammedans would wish us to accept, and Europeans of all classes, missionaries included, have been far too obliging, in complying with their suggestions; for neither of these words, by their etymology, can claim any reference whatever to Mohammed or his religion.

Europeans have, in the past, without verifying their true meaning, too slavishly accepted the explanations put on those words.

Christians and Mohammedans do not, as a general rule, know what those words really mean, and so, implications have been put upon them which they will not bear.

Let us then go back to the etymology of those words, for they are both derived from the same root, leaving out all reference to Mohammed, as his name is in no way involved.

The root form in Arabic is *salam,* which means submission, surrender, peace, safety, etc.

From this root are derived, *Islám; Muslim; Musallam; Taslím; Islámiya;* etc.

* The author's spelling *"Muslim"* is changed to conform to THE MOSLEM WORLD usage; also "Mohammedan" is used in place of *Muhammedan* and Koran for *Quran.*—EDITOR.

Islám—meaning yielding obedience to the will of God.

Muslim—a submissive one, a true believer in God, a Moslem.

Musallam—one who submits to, or acquiesces in, the judgment of another.

Taslím—resigning, resignation, submission to.

Islámiya—pertaining to Islám.

None of these words therefore have any reference, *per se,* to Mohammed. The above are not meanings put upon those words by Christians. Let us see what Mohammedans themselves say:

First, about *Islám.*

Abdul Haqq, the great Mohammedan commentator of the "Mishkát," states that the word implies, "submission to the Divine Will."

In the dictionary of the Korán, entitled "Moghrab," Islám is explained as "entering into peace (*salam*) with another."

In the Koran, Surat-Al-'Imrán, iii. 19. it is explained by, "surrender to God."

Second, about *Muslim.*

The same Sura, iii. 19 tells us it means, "surrendering to God." Again, Mohammed did not assert that Islám had any special reference to his own religion, but he distinctly says it was the religion of *all* the prophets from Abraham to Jesus, and to Mohammed. See Surat-Al-'Imrán, iii. 78.

"Say, we believe in God and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was sent down unto Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes, and that which was delivered to Moses, and Jesus, and the Prophets, from their Lord; we make no distinction between any of them; and to Him are we resigned (Muslim), whosoever followeth any other religion than Islám, it shall not be accepted of him; and in the next life he shall be of those who perish." (Sale).

See also Sura xlii. 11, and Sale's Preliminary Discourse, iv. p. 50, "The fundamental position on which Mohammed erected the superstructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there have been, and forever will be, but one true Orthodox belief"—

Therefore, according to Mohammed, Islam does not pertain solely to the Mohammedan religion.

In the Hebrew Bible, we come across all these words, and many more from the same root, but of course in Hebrew characters; they existed hundreds of years before Mohammed was born.

The root is similar to the Arabic, namely, *shálam,* which means peace, perfect, complete, to have peace, to be at peace, submissive, reconciliation, peace-offering, in its derivatives. The expression, "Let your hearts be *perfect* with the Lord your God," in 1 Kings viii, 61, xi, 4, xv. 3, 14, etc., expresses the idea of *submission* admirably.

Many readers of their English Bibles are not aware that the Hebrew word *Meshullam* translated in the Revised Version of Isaiah xlii. 18, "he that is at peace" is the equivalent of Moslem (Muslim).

Dr. George Adam Smith says in his commentary on Isaiah, vol. 2, p. 263, "The context shows that the servant here, or Meshullam, as he is called, the Devoted or Submissive One, from the same root, and of much the same form as the Arabic *Muslim,* is the whole people."

Meshullam also occurs as a proper name in II Kings xxi. 19; xxii. 3; Neh. iii. 4, 6, 30. etc.

Then again we have in Hebrew the equivalent of *Islám, taslím,* etc., all derived from *shalam,* to make peace, to submit oneself, peace-offerings, etc.

The ideas of peace and submission are scattered in profusion all over the Bible, and were well understood ages before the birth of Mohammed, in fact it is from the Bible only that we can learn the true idea of submission to the will of God.

Where in the Koran can we find such lofty ideals as Ps. xl. 8, "I delight to do Thy will, O my God."

Ps. cxliii. 10, "Teach me to do Thy will, for Thou art my God."

St. Matt. vi. 10, "Thy will be done in earth."

St. Matt. xxvi. 42, "Father, Thy will be done."

Heb. x. 7, "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God."

Only those who did the will of God could be accepted by Him—See Levit. xxii. 19, 29 and many other passages.

How then did Mohammed get hold of these ideas, and of these very words *Islám* and *Muslim*.

Mohammed as a pagan knew nothing of divine peace or of submission to the will of God. He began life first as a shepherd and camel-driver, and was accustomed to the worship of gods and goddesses, "idols" as he called them. He afterwards became a merchant in the service of a rich widow; in his journeys to Arabia, Syria and Palestine, he was frequently in contact with Jews and Christians. From Jews he must have learned much about the unity of God, and have heard the Jewish creed recited frequently, called the *Shema Israel* (Deut. vi. 4) "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is One Lord....."

He must also have heard the Jewish blessing, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee....." (Num. vi. 24-26), and of the Peace of God which comes to the hearts of all who seek to do the will of God. The Psalms, which were frequently recited, were full of the submission due to God. All these must have influenced him much.

He also came in contact with Christians in all those countries, and must have mixed with bishops, clergy and anchorite monks, especially in the larger towns. It is more than probable, that in coming into personal contact with all classes, he accepted their hospitality, attended their places of worship, and learned much from them of the one, true and only God, and how he became incarnate. He may also have heard of the peace which comes to all who submit themselves to him, and realize the necessity for forgiveness of sins.

On his return to his home in Arabia, he married the rich widow Khadíja, and eventually settled down to a home life. He could not forget all he had heard and seen during his journeys, and there can be little doubt that it preyed much upon his mind. He was so full of all the new truths he had learned, that he set about teaching them to those who lived in Mecca, especially the unity

of God, God's hatred of idol worship, the necessity for worship, and stated hours for prayers, and many other truths which he could only have got through the Old and New Testaments.

There was one subject which doubtless interested him personally, as he thought of the incontestable superiority of the Jewish and Christian religions over that of the idol-worshipping Arabs, and that was the vision of the angel Gabriel to the blessed virgin. It inspired him with the idea of the possibility of God revealing truths to him in the same manner. Parts of the two earliest Suras, the xcvith and the lxxivth are supposed to be connected with the vision of Gabriel, summoning him to the prophetic office; anyhow he began to look upon himself as a prophet.

There is no doubt that about this time, there were some Arabs in Mecca and Taif, who sought for a purer religion than that which obtained in Arabia at that time, who were called Hanífs,[1] whom Professor Wellhausen, the writer of the first part of the Article on Mohammedanism, in the Encyclopedia Britannica, took to be penitents, who strove to free themselves from sin. They were undoubtedly ascetics. Faith in the One God was with them identical with pious resignation (*Islám*) to His Will; it may have been, as the Professor suggests, "the religion of Abraham that lived again in them."

Mohammed came into contact with these Hanífs through Waraka, a cousin of his wife, who was one of them.

About this period, as the result of his journeys, his intercourse with Jews, Christians, anchorite monks, and Hanífs (who were probably seekers after God), Mohammed, (following the example of another Haníf,) frequently withdrew for considerable periods to the solitude of Mount Hira, and meditated there with prayer and ascetic exercises, seeing visions.

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[1] *Hanífs.* See Rodwell's Koran p. 216, 382, 467. He translates "Sound in faith." Sale translates "Orthodox" p. 225. Abraham was thus called Hanif vi. 162, xvi. 124, ii. 129, iii. 89, iv. 124.

During this time it is most likely that he was imbued with the desire of entire submission to the will of God, and may have had some "hope of the uplifting Messianic hopes of the Jews."

Wellhausen says, "That Mohammed did not produce his own ideas independently is indisputable, nor is it to be doubted that he derived them from the Hanífs..... that the deepest influence exercised on the Hanífs, and through them on the prophet, appears to have come from the anchorite ascetics.....that it was not their doctrine that proved impressive, but the genuine earnestness of their consecrated life, spent in preparation for the life to come, for the day of judgment, and forming the sharpest contrast to the profanity of heathenism....."

"Ascesis and meditation were the chief points with the Hanífs also, and they were sometimes called by the same name with the Christian monks.....All the accounts indicate that the Hanífs stood nearer to Christianity than to Judaism, not only in Taif but elsewhere.....It can hardly be wrong to conclude that these witnesses of the Gospel, unmentioned in church history, scattered the seed from which sprang the germ of Islám."

What wonder then that Mohammedan theological language is full of Jewish and Christian words and ideas!

What more natural than for those Christians he had met with in his travels, and these ascetic Hanífs, to tell Mohammed of the vision of Gabriel and all the wonderful stories connected with early Gospel history, and then for Mohammed to wish and dream for a continuation of those visions, and to imagine Gabriel had appeared to him on Mount Hira, and revealed some truths to him, and when these were told to his wife and other faithful followers, they encouraged him to think he was a prophet!

What more natural than for him to have heard about the fasts of the prophets and of Jesus, and to imagine that God had ordered him to establish the fast of Ramazán, and then for him to state that the beginnings of his prophesyings occurred on a similar night of the same month!

At the very beginning, it was probably not so much a desire of his to formulate a new religion, but to pass on to the Arabs the truths of older religions, and "secure among his people the recognition of the old and the true, and to preach it to them, as Moses had before him preached it to the Jews, and as Jesus did to His followers. It was all one and the same religion as written in the heavenly books. The differences between theirs and his were not perceived by him till a much later period" (Wellhausen).

The service which Mohammed at first required of his followers was a serious life, characterised in particular by prayer, meditation, alms and fasting, based on the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, which was the very essence of a true religion.

But after Mohammed's flight (the *Hijra)* from Mecca to Medina, to save his life from the enraged Meccans, his religion became sordid and anything but spiritual. It was a convenient fiction for him when demanding alms to say they had to be "paid to God," when they turned out to be nothing else than taxes for the support of his wars. History tells us how soon began his method of plunder on the neighboring villages, if the inhabitants refused to accept him as a prophet, and then followed war, atrocious murders, assassinations, even during the solemn time of the great fast, the Ramazan, altho he had instituted it, which took away all life from the original spirituality of the movement.

In fact, as Wellhausen again says, "No god but the One God was the sum of his dogmatics; less importance was attached to belief in it, than the profession of it," and "prayers took the form of military exercises."

All missionaries to Mohammedans can vouch for the truth of these statements, which are sufficient to account for the lack of true spirituality; so also when he claimed to be personally exempt from those restrictions in regard to the female sex which he laid upon all his followers, what could have happened to his principles of *Islâm?*

The religion Mohammed originally designed for the Arabs, may have been well worthy of the name *Islám,* "submission to the will of God," but it developed into anything but submission to God's will. His religion, as exemplified by himself, proved anything but worthy of that name, it is a name far more worthy of Christianity, and might well be used as a synonym for it.

The same must be said of *Moslem (Muslim.)* Mohammedans as a body are entirely unworthy of such an exalted title, for the Koran lays down no such exalted ideas of purity and holiness of life as are inculcated in the Old and New Testaments.

We cannot forbid these titles *Islám* and *Moslem (Muslim)* being used by Mohammedans, but what Christian speakers and writers should do, is always to use Mohammedanism" for "Islám," and "Mohammedan" for "Muslim," "Moslem" and "Mussulman."

It would be quite right for us Christians to call our religion *Islám,* and ourselves *Moslem* or *Muslim,* but as it would be wrong for Christianity and Mohammedanism to be called by the same name *Islám,* the only way out of the difficulty is to call Mohammed's religion after his own name, "Mohammedanism," and *not* "Islám," which is too good for it.

We are accustomed to the words Christianity, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Bahaism, Animism, etc., why then not use this most natural and correct name, Mohammedanism? for it defines that religion exactly, which *Islám* does not. The only objection to it which appears to me is that it is such a long word; but it is better to use it than the word Islám, which we cannot conscientiously use, for that word implies that peace of God which comes to the soul, through repentance and remission of sins, by one Mediator, Jesus Christ, whom Mohammed refused to accept as divine.

I must conclude with a story of what happened to myself in this connection, which I have written in my Reminiscences among the Afghans 1873-1890.

"On one occasion I was in an Afghan village, the chief of which had not seen me before, but seeing that I was dressed as an Afghan, he said to me in Pashtu, 'Are you a Musalman?' Before replying to the question, I said to him in a humorous way, 'That is a very interesting question of yours, will you kindly tell me the meaning of that word?'

"He was nonplused and was obliged to acknowledge he did not know. So I said to him, 'It is rather funny that you should ask me a question you do not know the meaning of, but as you cannot tell me, I will tell you. A Musalmán is one who submits to the Will of God, and as such, I am a Musalmán, but do not misunderstand me, I am not a Mohammedan, and never will be,' giving him my reasons.

"I then explained to him the difference between the two, how I pinned my faith on One who was far more able to save than Mohammed, for the Blessed Jesus is the Saviour of the world.

"When I told him that I was an Esaiyi Hájji (one who had been on a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem) I am afraid he thought much more of that, than what I was telling him about the Saviour from sin, but he listened very attentively to all I said to him.

"I tried to impress upon him that we are all sinners in the sight of God, and must obtain pardon from Him, if we wished to live as true *Muslimin* or Moslems. I found I could always obtain a good hearing, when dressed as one of themselves, in the mosque as well as in our own guest-house."

Since writing the above I have come across the following in "Mohammed or Christ" by Dr. S. M. Zwemer. (p. 181) : I do not think I have ever read a more pathetic, heart-breaking wail, than this touching lament of a Mohammedan, in his search for the true Islám.

"A young Sheikh, Mohamed el 'Attar, for some time a teacher in El Azhar University and a voluminous writer of pamphlets, has recently issued a small booklet under

the title, 'Where is Islám?' In this pamphlet we have a cry from the heart of a Moslem of the old school, despairing of reform and watching with regret the decaying forces at work in Islám.

"I searched for Islám in Mecca.....but I saw nothing there save corruption and error and shame and woe. I found there wine and adultery and wickedness.

"I searched for Islam in Medina, the Illustrious, but found only miserable people complaining of nakedness and hunger. So I stood and spoke to them in kindness and without anger.

"I searched for Islám in Europe, and I returned to my native land smiling with pleasure at what I saw there .....There I found men who loved their fellows and loved goodness for its own sake. There I saw people who were kind to their poor—and how few were the hungry and the miserable. Peace be to you, O Europe, as long as the sun shines.

"I sought for Islám in India, but no sooner had I reached Madras than my heart was disturbed and overwhelmed with sorrow; and for what reason do you suppose? As soon as I came to this land of unbelievers I picked up their books translated into the Tamil language, in which the Moslems recorded the life of the Seyyid Abdul Kádir el Jiláni, whom they regard as a god to be worshiped.....For example, they call him Lord of heaven and earth, etc.....

"I sought for Islám in the Azhár University, built upon injustice and hatred and tyranny and oppression..... They made a great show of Islám before the common people, and God knows how much hypocrisy there is in many of them.....There is no true and living Islám left.

"I sought for Islám in the mosques, and I saw that the most of those who prayed there stole the sandals of their co-worshipers and I said in my heart, Where are the Moslems today? Yea, where is Islám.....? etc."

The writer closes his long indictment by saying, *"I*

searched for Islám throughout the whole world, from east to west, and from north to south; nor did I find it. Where shall I find it? Shall I find it among those who are not Moslems?"

Dr. Zwemer goes on to say, "The writer knows such writing will not be reviewed with favour, as the exposure of hyprocrites always means their hatred, but he asserts that the high-minded among them know that he is speaking the truth; and that therefore, those who are sinners will accept his warning. A humorous touch is given by the author's request that El Azhar kindly repay him £150 sterling, which he spent there in vain! He also says that as there will be few favorable reviews of his treatise, he furnishes the reader with a review of it by a late Sheikh of El Azhar, Mohammed Abdu, saying that this reached him by wireless telegraphy from Paradise! Mohammed Abdu in his telegram corroborates the judgment of the author and praises him for his audacity!!!"

Dr. Zwemer concludes by saying, "If Mohammed el 'Attar is not a mere pessimist, but, as we believe a true prophet from the midst of his brethren, then Islám is already doomed. Its vital forces have been sapped, and moral and spiritual collapse are as inevitable as was the case in the Moslem world of politics."

But the *true Islám* can *never* be doomed, it is as vital as ever. There are many such "Seekers after God" in the Mohammedan world as described above; and it is our duty to let them know, that the *true Islám* is to be found through Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world, who can satisfy all the deepest demands of humanity, and that true Moslems may be found in the Christian Church.

Since closing my paper, Canon Sell, of Madras, has sent me his most excellent little book "Outlines of Islám." A chapter in it entitled "Meaning of the Word Islám" very well describes on pages 17, 18, how a Moslem may become a true Moslem,

"When he 'sets his face Godward and doeth that which is right,' he adds *ihsán* to Islám and is a *Muhsin,* that is, one who in addition to

performing the outward duties of the law shows active benevolence: and when to all this is added *tasdíq,* or sincerity of heart, leading on to *ímán,* or firm belief in the articles of the creed, the man is a *Mu'min,* or a true believer, which seems to be the highest state of all."

Throughout the Koran, the idea of Islám seems to be, as Canon Sell says, "the moral performance of certain outward duties. If ever there was an ethical meaning attached to the word Islám, it seems to have been lost in very early days. It emphasizes that side of religion which St. Paul so earnestly contended against in the Judaism of his day and which he defines as 'works of the law by which no flesh shall be justified.' (Gal. ii. 15)."

The term *Mu'min* seems to tally very nearly with the Hebrew *chásíd,* one who is the object of God's loving kindness (Dr. Kirkpatrick, Regius Professor of Hebrew.) It occurs very frequently in the Old Testament and especially in the Psalms, and is generally translated by *godly, saints,* etc., and implies one who has *a sincere faith in God,* and *whose object it is to please Him in everything,* the *true Moslem.*

Can this be said of *Moslems* as they are called, or is it implied in the word Islám in the Koran?

Exmouth, England. WORTHINGTON JUKES.

THE MOSLEM WOMEN OF LUCKNOW

It is a common saying in India that perfect Urdu is spoken in only two large cities of the land—Lucknow and Delhi. However true this may be, it is undoubtedly true that in this northern area—particularly in the two cities mentioned, with Lahore added—there is a larger proportion of Moslems of pure ancestry than elsewhere in India away from the northwestern frontier. The vast majority of Indian Moslems are of Hindu origin. But many Lucknow Moslems trace their ancestry to the family of the Arabian prophet. Many of these receive pensions or posts from Government and are well to do; others, like a poverty-stricken nobility, live on the charity of relatives. The work of Christian evangelization among Moslems is conceded to be difficult; it is doubly difficult among this particular class of Moslems in India who, in this land of caste, stand in practically the same relation to the mass of Moslems as do the Brahmans to the low caste among the Hindus. Especially is this true among the women who, lacking contact with the outside world and being unable to read, do not easily adjust themselves to new conditions even when change is advocated by the men of the family. Rather, they pride themselves on holding to their own even while they admit the inadequacy of some of their social customs and religious practices. They seem to be able to explain any and everything to their own satisfaction by, *"Ham men yih baten hoti hain."* (These are our customs.) Their mental reactions do not seem to include questionings as to the right or wrong, desirability or undesirability of certain

practices and customs. If they think about them at all it is only with a change of tense: they have existed, they do exist, they will exist. Fate has settled that, and who can strive against fate!

There is in the city of Lucknow as elsewhere in India a large Moslem community of Hindu origin. Christian evangelization among them is not as difficult as among the former class. But it is too often true that the reasons which actuate them to become Christians are identical with those which previously actuated them or their ancestors to become Moslems—social or financial or both. These are largely leather-workers, shoemakers, cotton-carders, weavers, farmers.

The impressions which I had formed before coming to India of Moslem social life and customs—through reading and lectures—had to be entirely reconstructed when I began work among them. I had mental visions of the harem with beautiful Persian rugs, hangings, couches and lovely women who spent their days in idleness. It was a rude awakening to find that the vast majority of them live in places such as a Westerner would not consider fit for cattle-sheds; that the women, many of them lovely in youth, fade very early because of the sordidness of their life and surroundings. Now and then among the wealthy one does find a place luxurious and comfortable, but let it not be supposed that financial ability always means a clean and comfortable home. Picture to yourself a small courtyard entered by a door curtained usually with a piece of soiled and germ-laden sacking. The courtyard in most cases is of mud which in rainy weather is very muddy indeed, as the courtyard is exposed to the sky. It is enclosed within high walls which for the most part form the outer walls of the small rooms which stall-like open off the court. These rooms also have mud floors. The main article of furniture is a rude bed which is used for sleeping at night and for sitting upon in the daytime. The Moslem woman is not over burdened with things—a box in which to keep the extra

garments and jewelry, a bed or a *takhta* on which to sleep and a few cooking utensils are all she needs.

Yet in spite of the barrenness of her surroundings and the restrictions of her life, the Moslem woman of Lucknow—and of India in general—reveals a certain dignity, poise, patience and charm which win for her the admiration of all who really know her. In most homes the women although secluded have to help in the support of the family. Lucknow is noted for its *chikkan* work (muslin embroidery). In many Moslem homes of Lucknow this approaches the sweatshop industry of the West. From daylight till dark many a woman works on *chikkan* just for the few pice which makes is possible to keep soul and body together. Others cut out cotton, silk and velvet shoe patterns and embroider them, others make gold and silver braid, do hand sewing, make button holes, cut betel nut for shop keepers, cook food for the native restaurants, etc.

The interest of these women centers around the raising of their children—and there are usually many, for birth-control has not yet become popular out here—preparing for the religious and social ceremonies connected with their every day life and the marriage of the children, which is usually early in life. Few of the women are able to read. It is a sad commentary on Islam in India that sixty-five million of its adherents are not only unable to read the Koran, but are also unable to read the vernacular, and the number of women able to read is an almost negligible quantity.

The purdah system is more strict among the Moslems of India than among the Moslems of any other country in the world. Many a Moslem woman of Lucknow has never been outside the four walls of her home, and if she has, it has been a hurried trip taken in a closed conveyance to another secluded house like her own. I know of some Moslem homes around which are built several walls and courtyards in order to make it impossible for the women to hear the voices of the men in the streets. Strange as

it may seem to the Westerner used to freedom, few of these women express a desire for the abolishment of the purdah system. According to their point of view respectability and purdah go hand in hand. A man who does not properly seclude his wife is not supposed to love or respect her. Only women of the streets and scavenger women, among Moslems, go about on the street freely.

Three old Moslem women friends of mine live on the outskirts of the city in a dilapidated old house—one of thousands like it in the city. They are of a Sayyid family and used to be in rather comfortable circumstances when the men of the family were still alive. But the men died some time ago and there is no one near enough of kin to support them. They receive a pension from Government and they rent half of their house. They do some work to help out on their income, but they are old women and have poor eyesight and can therefore do only the coarsest work for which little is paid. They live as near to the starvation line as is possible and still remain alive. Yet rather than surrender the respectability which comes from strict seclusion, they prefer to suffer hunger.

In another home where we work a woman of about sixty years of age is in need of a surgical operation. She has been told by such lady doctors as have visited her that an operation is the only thing that will save her life. But this operation would have to be performed by the Civil Surgeon and rather than subject herself to the indignity of being seen by a man even though he be a doctor, she prefers to die what she knows will be a most painful and horrible death. These conditions obtain in many Moslem homes. On the other hand there is a breaking down of the purdah idea. The educated young men, both Moslems and Hindus, would gladly abolish it. Many of the men who were in the Near East during the war and saw the comparative freedom of Moslem women in that part of the world would gladly give their women more freedom if it were not for public opinion. Many

women are now willing to go to the government and mission hospitals.

Marriages are usually arranged early in life, although now and then one finds girls who are not married until they reach the early twenties. It is a woman's chief interest in life to win and hold her husband's affection. That there are some happy marriages among these people cannot be doubted, but the fact is too often true that the marriages are not happy and that the husband either takes another wife or concubine. And for the woman there is little and often no opportunity to escape a situation so embarrassing. Some do return to the parental home if the parents are wealthy enough and inclined to call them home to live. This does not often happen unless the husband deserts or divorces his wife. Polygamy is not generally practiced by the poorer class, but many of the rich have more than one wife, as well as concubines. These customs are, however, also being discredited by the more enlightened Moslems.

When the missionaries first began work among the women of Lucknow they were often driven from their doors. While to the women themselves the coming of the missionary or Western woman was a blessing indeed even if they thought of it only as a diversion, the men were afraid that their women and girls would want the same freedom and privileges that the women of the West enjoyed. There have, however, been great changes in the years that have passed. Today there are few houses that are closed to the missionary even if she does insist on teaching the Bible as well as giving instruction in reading and writing and fancy work. Fifty years ago it was not considered a virtue for a girl to be able to read; now one of the first questions asked when marriage arrangements are made for a girl is, "Can she read, has she been taught, or is she absolutely ignorant?" Throughout the city there are municipal and parochial schools for girls. What more common sight in the streets of Lucknow these days than the purdah cart or motor bus making the rounds

to pick up the girls to take them to school in the morning and return them to their homes in the afternoon! Such as can afford it call a teacher to the house to teach the girls while others ask the missionary to send teachers. It is not only for the girls that education is desired; many women who failed to learn when they were young are now being taught.

Several years ago I opened work in a home where the students taught were a child of six, her mother, her grandmother and great-grandmother. Most significant is the fact that Moslem girls are becoming interested in higher education. Quite a number of high schools for Moslem girls have been established and a large number of Moslem girls are attending mission and government high schools also. In 1922 Isabella Thoburn College graduated its first Moslem young woman with the degree of B. A. Since then three Moslem young women have received this degree, while eleven have received the degree of F. A. or F. Sc. from this institution.

It cannot be supposed that the education of these Moslem women will not have far reaching effects. Most significant was a discussion held in one of the Y. W. C. A. meetings of the Isabella Thoburn College last year. Hindu, Moslem and Christian girls were discussing the virtues and defects of their respective religious customs and practices. The Moslem young women denounced the purdah system, polygamy, concubinage, early marriage and child motherhood. Truly, the greatest ally which Christian missions has in the evangelization of these people is education. When they see that the principles of living and life as taught by Jesus are the highest and best known, it will not be so difficult to lead them to accept Him as the Way, the Truth, the Life. That is, of course, our goal.

GERTRUDE VOIGTLANDER TWEEDIE.

Lucknow, India.

IS AFGHANISTAN CLOSED?

The present-day struggle throughout all Moslem countries to reconcile the system of Mohammed with the march of civilization is a hard one, and deserving of the generous sympathy of Christendom. Having had opportunity recently of studying the problem firsthand in the hitherto closed land of Afghanistan, I was deeply moved by the experience. The struggle is particularly severe in that country, where conservative orthodox Islam has been suddenly whirled headlong and unprepared into the vortex of modern problems.

From the expression "hitherto closed" it must not be inferred that the land is now open as other civilized countries are to the traveller or foreign resident. In spite of her new government, and recently established diplomatic relations with half the countries of Europe, in spite of the efforts and representations of the young Afghan party, in spite of recent advances on many lines, Afghanistan remains today practically inaccessible to Europeans and Americans, save to those who belong to the Foreign Legations, or are employed by the Amir in his schemes for promoting the wellbeing and development of the country.

Denmark has no representative in Afghanistan, so it is very difficult for a Danish visitor there; the more so as there are no regulations of any kind for the protection of foreigners in Kabul and no hotels where one can stay with the least pretence of comfort, unless one has brought one's own servants. The Afghan Government therefore wisely dissuades foreigners from visiting Kabul unless they have friends at one or the other of the embassies.

My arrival in Kabul was not a particularly pleasant one. The Afghan Agency in India had omitted to furnish me with the necessary papers for clearing my baggage, and I was consequently an object of suspicion, and told that as it was evening, and the head official had left, I must spend the night in the courtyard of the Custom House. Against this I protested so vigorously, that I at last obtained permission to go to "The Hotel", and two men were detailed to take me there. The Kabul bazaar is never a safe place for a European at night, and I must confess to some uneasiness as my two guards walked me round and about the bazaars without apparently being able to locate the Hotel. They eventually deposited me at a private house where two young Italian engineers were living, through whose kind services I then obtained permission to drive to the French Embassy, where I found the official to whom I had an introduction. He and his wife kindly put me up for the night, and helped me the next day to find the hotel and to settle up with the Custom House officials. "The Hotel" was merely a native inn for Europeans, the fact that it was for Europeans being indicated by the sign of "a knife and fork and tea pot" painted over the main entrance. The hotel residents consisted of some dozen men, French doctors, Italian engineers, and German professional men, all in the employment of the Amir. For my accommodation, I secured a little outbuilding on one of the flat roofs, the only room in the hotel which could boast of windows. Some days later I called at the Foreign Office, and subsequently received an invitation from the Minister and his wife to stay with them for the remainder of my time in Kabul; the Vizier surmising—and not without reason—that the hotel was not a fit place for a European lady. Moreover I was the first Dane to set foot on Afghan soil, and he desired to honour me accordingly.

In the luxurious household of Mohammed Tarzi Khan, I had the best possible opportunity of studying home life in Afghanistan, and the struggle going on in the harem

to bring life there into harmony with more modern ideas. The question of the emancipation of woman is one which now figures largely in Afghan life; and the problem is the same whether it concerns the poor peasant woman or her richer and more refined sister. The one is the slave of her husband, the other his toy. The poor woman becomes worn out with work; the rich one fades away in her golden cage. The young Afghans know well enough that there is no hope for their country really prospering, or attaining to a place amongst the civilized nations of the world, unless the harem can be transformed into a real home—a place where the children can be properly brought up and subjected to such discipline as makes for the formation of character and success. They also realize what a tremendous loss it is to a nation to be deprived of women's work and influence; and that the girls need to be educated to take an interest in something more than gossip and finery. But how to remedy the evils of the harem, and at the same time remain faithful to Islamic ideas is the problem.

The Koran enjoins both veil and harem; and veil and harem render it impossible to send their girlhood to school; while polygamy is a source of domestic misery. This is fully understood by the young Amir, who has himself taken but one wife, and all who aspire to his favour do likewise. He even introduced a measure enforcing monogamy, but was compelled by the conservative party to withdraw it as contrary to the teaching of the Koran. The same fate befell the school for girls, which was started by the Amir, and was at first received with enthusiasm. The Queen and her mother (who by the way was my charming hostess) were the patronesses, and things looked promising enough until Parliament assembled, when the *Muftis* and *Qadhis* pronounced it to be an innovation contrary to the Koran and Traditions. The school was consequently closed, to the great regret of the Young Afghan party, but none dared openly to criticize the wisdom of the greybeards.

"For never did chief more sorely need Heaven for his aid and stay
Than the man who would reign in this country, and tame Afghans for a day.
I look from a half ruined fort on Kabul spreading below,
On the near hills crowned with cannon, and the far hills piled with snow.
Fair are the hills, well watered, and the vines on the upland swell,
You might think you were reigning in Heaven; I know I am ruling in Hell."

What makes Afghanistan a hell to rule? In the first place, the disagreeable peculiarities of the Afghan character, and secondly, the disagreeable peculiarities of the *Sharia'*, or ecclesiastical law, by which every orthodox Moslem state must be governed. The Afghan is cruel, fanatical and very proud. There is no subject so much on his tongue or about which he is so sensitive as his honour; but his notions of honour are often extremely childish. He will quarrel and fight like a small schoolboy to demonstrate his physical strength, and seek to take bloody vengeance on any one who may seem to doubt his valour.

The maintenance of the honour of the harem is another Afghan specialty. There is a saying that the causes of all their quarrels are three Zs: *zan, zar, zamin,* i. e. women, money, and land. The kidnapping of a woman is very often the origin of the vendettas which are the curse of the country, and threaten to wipe out some of the best families. The Afghan code of honour demands that if a person be killed by his enemy, some relative of the victim must retaliate by slaying the murderer or a member of his family. Now it sometimes happens that the late murderer is deemed a person of more importance than his victim was, and therefore to equalize matters somewhat, another member of the first family must be slain. Things go from bad to worse, other families get implicated, and it often ends in whole villages becoming embroiled, and intertribal fighting taking place. Peace is never secured until vengeance is fully satisfied on both sides. As regards connubial fidelity, the Koran and *Sharia'* know no equality of sex neither does the Afghan. Lax he may be

in his own morals, but he cannot pardon lapse in his women; and his jealousy often expresses itself in acts of the utmost cruelty.

Another characteristic of the Afghan is a deep-rooted sense of his own personal worth. Every man is as good, if not better than his neighbour, and this trait has been hitherto a serious hindrance to national cohesion. All think that they are equally fit to be the chief of their respective tribe, and each chief imagines that he is fit to be ruler of the land. Never indeed did chief more sorely need Heaven for his aid and stay, than the man who would reign in that country and tame Afghans for a day. Every new law is received with suspicion, either as a departure from the old institutions of Islam, or as an encroachment on their independence, love of which amounts almost to an obsession.

As orthodox Sunni Moslems, Afghans are rigid adherents of the *Sharia'* (ecclesiastical law) and the old *sunna* (custom) of Mohammed on which it is based. The people of Christian and civilized states can hardly imagine the difficulties that confront a progressive Moslem government in trying to adapt the old code to modern institutions and requirements. Take for instance the law concerning polygamy. What trouble has not this wrought in the country, and has it not been at the root of most of the disputes and contests for the throne? Afghan law asserts that "if the meanest slave girl bear her lord the king a child, this child shall have the same rights as the child born of the royal wife." This law cannot, however, be taken too seriously, for rights mostly fall to him who is able to secure them for himself, or perhaps to him whose mother is able to secure them by intrigue. And it is here, of course, that the royal wife, with birth, education and riches has the advantage over the poor woman whose only asset is her beauty. Other things being equal, a sort of prescriptive right has been acquired by the eldest son of the first queen. But other things seldom are equal, and the present occupant of the throne is the youngest son

of Habib Ullah's first wife. Of course, the usual intrigues were not lacking if Kabul rumours can be relied on. The Amir's two eldest sons, and Nasr Ullah his eldest brother who were with him at Jelalabad at the time of his death, were accused of being accessories to the crime, and all suffered due punishment. Aman Ullah who was in Kabul at the time could, of course, prove an alibi, and it was he who took proceedings against his uncle and brothers. The various rumours current may be true or may not; in any case a human life does not count for much in Afghanistan, not even the life of a king.

I was privileged while in Kabul to visit one of the Afghan princesses. She was a daughter of the famous Abdur Rahman, and a lady who seemed to have inherited a considerable portion of her father's wit and humour. I shall not easily forget how she entertained me by showing me pictures of various members of her family. "This is my brother Nasr Ullah," she said, "he died in prison." "This is my brother Habib Ullah, he was killed at Jelalabad." "This is my uncle, he also was killed" and so on, and all without remark or lament; only an arch smile in her sparkling intelligent eyes showed what she was thinking. I wanted to ask her a lot of questions, but did not dare; also it would have been useless. Afghanistan is riddled with spies, and no one dares to breathe a word openly against those in power.

The Princess took me round later to see the new knitting factory, which she herself had started. I was very astonished as I entered the first room to see some half dozen beautiful queenly women, richly jewelled, working the knitting machines. They seemed to be princesses from the Arabian Nights, rather than factory girls. I was told afterwards by a European lady that they belonged to high class families, who had come down in the world; and so these ladies were now working in the factory for one rupee a day. But in a country where great and dramatic changes take place so quickly, a temporary downfall need not be taken too much to

heart. It is wiser surely to spend the time dreaming of the good fortune which may be awaiting one round the next corner, or anticipating if not actually planning the overthrow of those to whom one's present adversity is due!

Nearly all the Afghan kings have played with that capricious jade, Dame Fortune, for high stakes, the incomparable Abdur Rahman with the best. He spent eleven years in exile before coming to the throne. He had been a fetter-bound prisoner, a blacksmith, an engineer and a cook; a general, a viceroy and an amir—at one time, a working peasant lacking perhaps his daily bread; at another a great ruler, honoured by the governments of Persia, Russia, and Great Britain. For Aman Ullah, who secured his crown so easily and unexpectedly, adversities doubtless remain in store. His elder brother, whom he kept in prison for a full year until he agreed to abdicate officially, is still alive. His uncle Nasr Ullah, the mullah prince, who was put to death with his consent, has still powerful friends belonging to the Old Afghan party. This party which Aman Ullah constantly irritates by his modern, and (as they deem) anti-religious reform laws, has already reminded him of its existence, for it is they who supported the Khost and other rebels during the recent risings. This party it is which will seek to render it impossible for this liberal-minded monarch to emancipate himself, his house, and his people from the thraldom of the ancient codes and customs of orthodox Islam.

It must not be thought, however, that the Islamic system is wholly to blame for the difficulties with which the Afghan Government finds itself confronted today, for Islam in itself is above the Afghan interpretation of it. It is true that the Koran and Traditions can be interpreted so as to prove an insuperable hindrance to the development and progress of any country, but they are capable also of a broader and less literal interpretation.

The Afghans are Sunnis of the most fanatical type, to whom the *sunna* or customs of Mohammed are sacred.

These customs they call *dastur,* and their being holy is a sufficient reason for adhering rigidly to them, however old fashioned or inconvenient they may prove. *Dastur* is the flower of their religion. Respect for *dastur,* fear of hell, and desire for the pleasures of paradise, are the three ruling motives of their faith.

Another factor in the religious fanaticism of the Afghans, for which Islam proper can not be held responsible, is priestcraft: that is the enormous hold and dangerous influence which the mullahs have on the minds of the people. Islam really recognizes no priesthood; every Moslem has a full right to officiate at religious and social functions such as weddings, funerals, mosque prayers, and religious feasts. Nevertheless, Afghanistan is one of the most priest-ridden countries in the world, and the mullahs not only rule the people, but often defy the monarch. Until quite recently, the mullahs were the sole possessors of any learning, and therefore to them was entrusted the education of the young, and the leadership of the state. They are the defenders of the faith, the exponents of the law, the arbiters in tribal disputes and the inciters to hostility against infidels and heretics. If any one dares to disregard the mullah, he is excommunicated; which means he may not enter the mosque, and can neither be married nor buried with Moslem rites. It is not to be wondered at that the mullahs are feared more than loved by the people, for they are believed to be in possession of great spiritual, and in some cases even magical powers. They are the priests, the doctors, the teachers, and the judges of the land, as well as warriors and courtiers. And because their power depends to a great extent upon the ignorance and consequent superstition of the people, it is to their interest to oppose popular education, and obstruct the work of the present liberal government.

The rulers of Afghanistan have in times past feared the authority of the mullahs, and while seeking their favour on the one hand, have tried to subdue them on the other. They are dangerous enemies, and no government can

long continue that does not know how to manage these proud priests, or disregard popular feeling and fanaticism. Habib Ullah, father of the present Amir, was completely in the hands of the mullah-party. He regarded himself as a sort of Khalifa, King of Islam being his favourite title. At the big annual feast in the Idgah Mosque in Kabul, he acted as Imam or leader in prayer. His friendship with the mullahs cost him something. The "King of Islam" must perforce live in accordance with the Koranic code which allows a man but four wives at a time, and so Habib Ullah was obliged to divorce some of the queens with whom his careful father had provided him. In return for this act of self-denial, he was awarded the title "Light of the Nation and Congregation."

The present Amir, Aman Ullah, has likewise had to yield to public religious sentiment, by suppressing the Ahmadiya movement, and executing two of their leaders. Their doctrine that *jihad* or holy war was only to be carried on in a spiritual sense, could not be tolerated in Afghanistan. In the *Aman-i-Afghan,* a leading newspaper in Kabul, it was stated that the Government could not permit such dangerous teaching, as it was bound to promote dissension and disturbance throughout the country. Protests poured in from all quarters, the European legations, the Ahmadiya community, and various new Islamic Indian newspapers declared that a free and independent Afghanistan ought to give full liberty in matters of religion like other civilized countries. The Kabul paper replied that liberty must be made dependent on and bounded by the standard of civilization attained by the nation in question; and that the religious prejudices of the Afghan people needed to be taken into account. If a new religion threatened to destroy the old faith, or if the preachers of a new faith gave rise to trouble, then restrictions became necessary. *The Civil and Military Gazette* and other Anglo-Indian newspapers made some sharp comments on this, but the Afghan Government is

undoubtedly right from an orthodox Islamic point of view. The more liberal interpretations, and in some cases evasions, of the Koran and *Sharia'* now obtaining in Turkey and others of the more enlightened Moslem lands, are still absolutely unknown in Afghanistan. There the Government feels bound to adhere to the letter of the old Arabic law, and its interpretation according to the orthodox schools of thought. In their hatred of innovations the Old Afghans are not unlike the Wahhabis.

The Afghans' chief mosques, unlike those in India and Turkey, are plain structures, devoid of any ornamentation, because the Prophet is said to have forbidden decorations in building. Except for the tomb of Timur, and the Buddhist remains at Bamian and other places, there are no ancient monuments in Afghanistan. Even the mosque of Babar's famous shrine, the pride of Kabul, is small, bare and insignificant to look at. Thus much for the austere culture of Islam; and the strictly orthodox Afghan capital has never been a seat of art or learning as were Baghdad and Damascus. Mohammed himself poured contempt on poetry, and is said to have consigned to the severest punishment at the last day, the painters and artists who had tried to imitate that which Allah had created.

What problems such a mentality must involve for the newly-founded "Department of Religion and Education" in its endeavours to institute modern schools on Western lines without getting into trouble with the religious leaders of the country! The Young Turks who did not care a scrap for the Faith, managed it well enough; but the Young Afghans, who are, or, at any rate, wish to pose as good Moslems, can not do so without a conflict with their own conscience, and with the Old Afghan party. One cannot therefore but admire the courage of the young Amir, who has, in spite of everything, started two boys' schools in Kabul on modern lines and with European masters. At the same time he has been obliged to keep

the old-fashioned elementary schools still going, where instruction is given by mullahs and moulvis with the Koran as the only class book.

In the higher educational establishments for adults, the curriculum consists, first and foremost, of the Koran, then the *Sharia',* followed by logic, geometry, rhetoric, genealogy, history, arithmetic and, of course, riding and shooting. Such a course fits the young Afghan to become a priest or a judge, but nothing else. There is no opportunity for him to study physical, agricultural, commercial or technical science, and it is to supply this lack that the two European schools have been started. When the cleverest of the boys have learned sufficient French or German, they are sent to Europe to finish their education. After completing their studies abroad, they return to their own country, and are then expected to apply what they have learned, and to found various institutions on Western models.

The Minister of Education was so kind as to take me over the Kabul schools one day. It was really amusing to see the enthusiasm of those wild boys for science, and behind it all, undoubtedly lay national aspirations to build up a new Afghanistan. It is to be hoped that these two modern schools will be allowed to continue, but the European teachers feel that they are on dangerous ground when it comes to the drawing of diagrams and pictures in the various class books.

Another important point on which the Amir has sought to set aside old traditions and practices, and to give his people the benefits of modern science and civilization is the "Department of Medicine and Hygiene." Under the old regime, the medical science and art of the *hakims* (native doctors) was on a par with that of the Saracen physicians of the Middle Ages. The same restrictions which Mohammedan law laid upon Avicenna and Abdul Latif in Arabia were still in vogue in Afghanistan until a few years ago. Dissections, vivisections, and post-mortems were prohibited and even anatomical diagrams.

Sanitary contrivances were the same as those used and approved by the Prophet himself; and consequently trachoma, dysentery, malaria and syphilis are endemic; while periodic epidemics of cholera, plague, and small-pox rage without meeting any resistance.

One fine day, however, the Amir advertised for and engaged six Italian and twelve German doctors. He got them cheap because it was just after the great war, when everything in Europe was in chaos and misery. But the struggle between the old order and the new was too much for most of them. All the Italians have now left for good, and but five of the Germans still remain at their posts.

Perhaps the difficulties Aman Ullah's Government has to contend with are not fully appreciated by Europeans, or perhaps they are not sufficiently philanthropically inclined to endure situations which at times seem intolerable owing to Afghan inefficiency, corruption or overweening conceit. During my stay in Kabul, I made acquaintance with many clever Europeans in different positions, who had come out as pioneers of civilization, and who in their own way were both idealists and philanthropists. But I did not find one such who was not well nigh in despair, over the conditions under which they had to work, and the whole situation in general.

I left Afghanistan with the conviction that something greater than philanthropy was required to meet the country's need. Surely only those possessed of the Love which is prepared to bear, believe, hope, and endure all things are equipped to participate successfully in any movement for the true uplift of Afghanistan.

A Danish Student.

GOSPEL AND LANGUAGE STUDY IN THE EASTERN SUDAN

The existence of a current language universally used—such as the Arabic language in the Eastern Sudan—affords great convenience to all kinds of travellers, including missionaries. Wherever one comes, he can converse freely and easily at least with the educated man, be it by word of mouth or in writing, as such languages generally have an alphabet of their own. In those parts where there is such a language, the Christian press also can create its own circle of readers; the Christian literature written in Arabic is likely to be much more widely disseminated, if due care is taken to this effect. We must not, however, overlook the fact, that by such an expansion of Christian ideas the true purpose of missionary work is not attained. For the Gospel of Christ is not, like that of Islam, confined to one language. Nor do we expect one people to adopt the peculiarities of another; for here we have not to deal with Greeks, Barbarians, Scythians, Jews —they are all to be one in Christ.

Thus the words of our Lord, (though as a rule He made use of the Aramaic tongue) except a few, have come down to us in Greek; and His name and office were written on the cross in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. In like manner the Jew, St. Paul, tried to be a Greek to the Greeks in order to help a few in a crowd. Since olden days the Gospel has been preached in different languages. Those who preached it did not mean to speak and write to the educated classes only, in a solemn and dignified style; for from the very beginning, the Gospel was in general not accepted by the high and mighty; those who

are humble and lowly and treated with contempt have at all times been chosen by God.

When the Gospel was brought to Egypt, the educated classes read Greek without any difficulty. The chamberlain of Queen Candace, being an educated man, also knew Greek, and yet the New Testament had been translated into the language of the Egyptian people—that is to say, not into the language of the learned, but into the different dialects of the people. This is the reason why at least a minority of the Egyptian people have preserved the Gospel up to the present day. In Nubia and in the empire of Meroe, a translation of the Bible was not thought necessary and the Christian church has vanished, leaving no trace in those parts.[1] Nor had the Gospel been translated into the language either of the Carthaginians or of the Lybians. The Latin and Greek Bibles were deemed sufficient—and Islam has succeeded in radically exterminating Christianity in North Africa. That ought to set us thinking. If the Gospel is supposed to take root in a nation and to survive the storms that are sure to come, it has to be preached in the language of the people, not in that of the educated classes, for that is often known only to the men.

For the greater part of Africa, this fact has long been recognized, and hundreds of languages have been studied and made use of by missions as a medium for preaching and translating the Bible. To this fact we may partly ascribe the ready success of missionary work among those heathen nations of Africa that are most closely in touch with Islam, and it is owing to the Bible translations that even those communities that were left without any missionary during the war, have been able to keep themselves alive and even to increase in number.

This makes it clear to us why the Coptic Church still clings to its old language, though it is no longer under-

[1] There exist—it is true—some remnants of Christian literature in old Nubian, interspersed with many quotations from the Bible, but it seems that a translation of the whole New Testament never existed.

stood; for it is to the Coptic New Testament that this church owes its survival.

Only for the Eastern Sudan nothing has been done up to the present day to offer the Gospel to the natives in their respective languages. This part of the world is one of those in which very little missionary work has been done, and what little has been accomplished was done in English or Arabic.

We have to deal here with a great number of different languages, which, however, do not present any greater difficulties to the missionary than those in other parts of Africa, where the Gospel has already been preached for a long time.

The only real beginning has been made in Nubia.[2] The Nubian language has been studied by the German scholars, L. Reinisch, Lepsius, H. Schafer, Juncker, Czermack, Kautzor, and by the Swedish scholar Almkvist. Recently, G. W. Murray also published a dictionary in English, which, however, does not add anything of importance. Samuel, the evangelist of the German mission in Assouan, together with Professor H. Schafer, has translated the four Gospels into Nubian, and Professor D. Westermann has added to this by publishing a Nubian primer. The basis has thus been laid for missionary work through the medium of these languages, and this has already been taken in hand by the German mission. The great extension of the Nubian language promises well for this missionary work.

Another very promising work awaits him who has a knowledge of the Bedauye language, which is the language of the nomadic tribes of the Bisharin, Hadendoa, Halenga, Beni Amir, etc., tribes inhabiting the right bank of the Nile from Assouan to Abyssinia.

This language has also been examined by the German scholars L. Reinisch and J. J. Hess and by the Swede

[2] In Egypt the Nubians are designated with the Arabic term of Barabra; consequently they are also called "Berbers" in English. This has led to the erroneous conception that their language is cognate with that of the North-African Berbers, which is a mistake. Part of the Nuba-tribes in Kordofan, however, are really Nubians. Cf. my book "Studienfahrt nach Kordofan", Hamburg 1916, and some treatises in the "Zeitschrift fur Kolonial-Sprachen". There are some more Nubian tribes to be found in Darfur.

Almkvist. The German mission in Assouan has come into contact with the Bisharin especially through medical work; but proper missionary work has not begun yet. It is made difficult by the nomadic habits of the people, but on the other hand it promises success through the great extension of the language, which is not however cognate with the Nubian. It requires to be studied very carefully on account of its complicated grammar.

I have to mention a third people, also very strongly influenced by the Arabic, but speaking a well-developed, widely spread language of their own. I am alluding to the bulk of the population of Darfur. This language, the Kondjara, was studied in Germany as early as eighty years ago, by a young scholar, K. Tutschek, who was entrusted with the education of a boy from Darfur, ransomed from slavery by a Bavarian Prince. His manuscripts, however, remained unpublished for a long time. They had been handed over to the State Library in Munich by a grandson of the prematurely deceased scholar, and it is due to the kind permission of the State Library that I was enabled to make use of these manuscripts. In 1922, I began to publish them in the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen,* vol. xii, which publication I can now continue with the kind assistance of a member of the German mission in Assouan.[3] The texts were written down by a boy, and consequently the range of their contents is limited. Nor is the rendering of the sounds reliable, but I am confident that these texts will serve to bring to light some better material. There are still living in Egypt a sufficient number of people from Darfur to render the study of their language possible. A grammar and dictionary might be published as the first step towards creating a Christian literature in Kondjara.

Beyond the Abyssinian borders and the southern frontier of the country living under the influence of Islam, a number of different languages are to be found which are generally designated as Nilotic. But, though they have

[3] Cf. also the contributions to the study of Kondjara in the Zeitschrift fur Kolonial-Sprachen, vol. viii.

frequently interchanged their vocabulary, they belong to different linguistic branches. There exist two good works on the Bari and Dinka languages, written by the Catholic scholar Mitterutzner who, like Tutschek, drew his material from ransomed slaves who had come to Europe. But there is a need of more comprehensive texts. Both books have been written in German, the one on the Bari having also appeared in an English translation. Of recent date are, moreover, two excellent treatises by Westermann on the Shilluk language, written at the suggestion of the American Presbyterian mission.[4] They are of great help towards learning these languages; but all the trouble that has been taken will be of no avail, unless the missionaries go on building up on this foundation. The study of an African language is not, of course, as simple as the study of a European tongue.

Of the other languages of the Eastern Sudan we possess only some few preliminary studies, such as those by Westermann on the Nuer, Anywak, Golo and some others.

Besides these, there are in the middle of the Arabic-speaking territory, several linguistic isles of lesser size. In several instances the original inhabitants have withdrawn to the mountain-tops, whereas the Arabs tend their flocks in the vast plains. These linguistic isles were recently alluded to by Frau Dr. B. Seligmann in two publications in the *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-Sprachen,* vols. 1 and 2. The latter deals with languages spoken in the territory between the White and Blue Nile; the former with Kordofan dialects.

These languages are collectively called Nubian languages, which is wrong, as only a small part of them are really Nubian, whereas the rest belong to very different linguistic groups. None of the missions has to this day taken any notice of these tribal fragments, part of whom have not been Islamised as yet and would not, therefore, offer any serious impediment to the work of the missions. Only the Austrian Catholics have attempted missionary

[4] A short Grammar of the Shilluk Language. Philadelphia, Berlin, 1911. The Shilluk People. Philadelphia, Berlin, 1912.

work among the Nubians in Kordofan, work which has frequently been interrupted by revolts and similar disturbances.[5]

Are we to wait until these idioms have disappeared altogether and till the people have been converted to Islam? Or shall we do what has been done in other parts of Africa, that is: bring the Gospel to these despised peoples in their mother-tongue, and give them fresh strength to build up their lives and to resist Islam as well as the levelling European influences, which are threatening to destroy the soul of the African native? The field is vast, but are we therefore to shirk this task which is so urgently necessary and so full of promise?

I do not mean to say that the great literary languages of Africa should not be allowed to spread the Gospel and further the work of the missions, on the contrary, I should like to see the possibilities of such literary languages as Arabic, Hausa, Ful, Swahili taken advantage of much more than has been hitherto the case. But this work in the interest of the educated must not let us forget the service due to the poor and suffering, to the women and children. If we want to help the latter, we must bring them the Gospel in the language which they understand thoroughly, their mother-tongue. This service, however, requires men and women who would shrink from no sacrifice, least of all from the difficulty of studying foreign languages.

It is a mistake to believe that it does not matter in what language you preach the Gospel of Christ. Every language has a soul of its own, and the African native who is taught in a language strange to him gets an Arab or a European soul in addition to his own African one. He becomes a man at variance with himself, and you never can tell in what manner he will then act. He will never become a real European or Arab, but will always remain a miserable imitation of something that is foreign to him. The task of conceiving Christian ideas through the me-

[5] A linguistic by-product of this activity is to be found in the works of Juncker, Czermak and Kautzor on the Nubian dialects spoken in Kordofan.

dium of his own mother-tongue requires an effort which he is unable to make by himself. The missionary must help him to do so. If the latter, however, shrinks from the trouble of learning the language, then there is no chance of help for the African native. He is then shown the Land of Promise from afar without being able to enter it. The soul of the African is beginning to awaken and to grow conscious of its own value. If we want the native to take an active part in a common work for the benefit of all mankind under the guidance of the Gospel, the Gospel must speak to him comprehensibly, and from a world of ideas and in parables familiar to him through his intercourse with his family and other members of his people. The importance and the urgency of this work has been recognized for other parts of Africa, but not yet for the Eastern Sudan. Must we wait until it is too late?

Hamburg, Germany. CARL MEINHOF.

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN NYASALAND

Nyasaland lies as a narrow strip of British territory along the western shore of Lake Nyasa. Nowhere is it more than one hundred miles in breadth, and at its narrowest it is not more than thirty. Its southern half was first explored by Livingstone in 1864, and afterwards in 1866-67 at the commencement of his last journey. At that time the country was entirely under native influence and rule. Neither the Arabs nor the Coastmen—both of whom were followers of Islam—possessed any foothold in the country. Livingstone always complained that the coast trader followed in the footsteps of his discoveries, and in this case his complaint was justified. When the country was next visited by the pioneer parties of the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland in 1875, settlements of coast traders were found at Mponda's, now Fort Johnston, on the south-east arm of the lake, at Kota-Kota half way up the west side, at the north end of the lake among the Konde tribe, and on the east coast at Makanjira's village. These places were recognized centres of coast trade in slaves and ivory, and as large numbers of Moslems congregated there, each of these places became a centre of Mohammedan propaganda. Their followers were largely composed of the Yao tribe—men of good physique and accustomed to undertaking journeys as porters to and from the coast towns. It was consequently among the Yao tribesmen that Islam made its chief headway. The Yao is naturally a proud man, and the increased social status which Islam gave him appealed to his pride. It made no demand on him to abandon any of his native customs or

superstitions, and consequently in the centres I have named a large proportion of the men professed the Moslem faith, and a few—but only a few, of the women. Swahili, the coast language, was the medium of communication between coastmen and the local inhabitants, and in consequence Swahili became, in the minds of the native, closely associated with the Moslem faith.

In course of time a Yao chief from the east side of the Lake crossed over to the west side and settled in the district south of Domira Bay, where a new centre of Moslem propaganda was established. With the advent of the British Government and peace ensured to the country, the native began to move about outside his own country, especially towards the South where the settlement of a large number of Europeans afforded opportunities for work. In this way not a few Moslems from both sides of the Lake immigrated to the neighbourhood of both Zomba and Blantyre, where today, as a consequence, there is a considerable Moslem population. This, however, is still largely composed of men of the Yao tribe, with, recently, a sprinkling of women, who have either built themselves small mosques in their own villages or make use of the large mosques built by the Indian Moslem merchants at both these places. Among the other tribes to the west of these lake centres, the Moslem faith seems to have made little or no headway at all.

This will become apparent from an examination of the schedule of the last census in 1921, where in the western districts of the Protectorate, such as the Lower Shire, the Ruo, the West Shire, Lilongwe, Fort Manning and Momberas, the Moslem population, in all these districts put together, does not number more than 732 out of a total population of 494,289. On the other hand, in the districts round Fort Johnston and Kota-Kota, the Moslems number as many as one-ninth and one-eleventh of the total population respectively, while Zomba District embracing also the old Moslem centre of Chikala is the largest Moslem district in the Protectorate, the proportion being one-

fifth. This is due largely to immigration into this district from the Moslem district of Fort Johnston. In these districts the Moslem population very greatly exceeds the Christian. In Blantyre—which is further away from the lake slaving-centres, but is a thickly populated district owing to the demand for native labour by the European residents—the proportion of Moslems to the total population is only one-thirtieth.

The position may be summed up in a word. Islam is strong along the lake shore and on the Eastern border of the Protectorate, but even there it is chiefly around the old centres of the coast slave-trade.

When we turn to the estimated Christian population we find that it largely preponderates in those districts along the centre and the west side of the Protectorate where we have said Islam is weak or non-existent. Thus while the main centres of Islam are on the eastern border of the Protectorate, there is a broad belt of Christianity occupying the centre and western border. Thus Christianity presents a strong barrier stretching from north to south of the Protectorate against any advance westward of Islam. Westward and southward of the Protectorate Islam is not found, nor does it seem to have any attraction for these western tribes. To the Yao it commends itself, and its conquests are almost entirely confined to that tribe. Their habitat is on the east of the Lake and on the eastern border of the Protectorate. So there is not much likelihood of it penetrating beyond its present position.

The last census in 1921 shows that out of a total of 199,934 there are 103,001 Christians as compared with 73,015 Moslems. As the latter are confined for the most part to the centres I have mentioned, it will be seen that the conquests of Christianity are spread over by far the larger part of the Protectorate.

Blantyre, Nyasaland. A. HETHERWICK.

MOSLEMS IN PARIS

During the Great War some 250,000 North Africans fell in serving the cause of the Allies. They were all French subjects. As a result of the war 125,000 North African workmen have invaded France to fill the broken ranks of her industrial army.

To commemorate the dead and conciliate the living the French authorities decided to erect a beautiful Mosque and Institute in the heart of Paris. The City gave the site, the Government gave half a million francs towards the cost. The balance was made up by public subscriptions in France and the Colonies. The promoters of the memorial said, "If the creation of a Franco-Arab Institute ought to lead to a lively interest on the part of the élite of our Mohammedans, the erection of a Mosque ought to touch the masses at the centre of their religious sentiment."

If the French Government thus seeks to serve the interests of its Moslem subjects, ought not the Church of Christ to rise to the occasion and make the most of the unique opportunity constituted by the presence of this great number of Moslems in Europe?

These North Africans are Moslem more in name than in fact, and there is little likelihood of their patronizing the mosque to any great extent. They have adopted European attire, and the red fez, or cap, of Moslem lands is rarely seen, even in those quarters most frequented by Moslems.

Islam is fast loosening its hold on these immigrants, and its practices will soon, for most of them, be things of the past. The prevalent infidelity of their environment, and

the gross materialism of European life are adversely affecting the character of these invaders. All this means that the mosque with its exotic architecture is more likely to become a sight for tourists than the prayer centre of France's Moslem guests.

An effort has been made to reach these men with the Gospel. Extensive colportage work has been done among them and about five thousand Gospels, Scripture portions and evangelical books and tracts have been sold to them in the past eighteen months. There is scarcely a corner of France where they are not to be found. They work on the land and in the mines, they wash taxis, trams and railway rolling stock; they work in the factories and on the roads. They travel from Marseilles to Belgium, they work in the Atlantic ports and in the steel works on the eastern frontier. They live in every kind of dwelling, in huts and sheds, in hotels and in private families, they have even been found in war dug-outs. We have frequently visited them in their hotels and restaurants; the Scriptures have been read and expounded in bedrooms and cafés. Men from Mogador to Alexandria, from Algiers to Laghouat, and from beyond the Sahara, from far-off Jibuti on the Gulf of Aden, and from Senegal have bought the Gospel in France. Missionaries and colporteurs in North Africa are now meeting men who have thus come into possession of the Holy Scriptures. The seed here sown is being scattered widely where missionaries have never been and from these widespread grains a harvest may yet be reaped. The workers have been cheered more than once by finding men reading the portions previously bought, and by requests for the retelling of the familiar parables and stories of Holy Writ.

In Paris itself, with great difficulty, a shed was rented—no one cared to rent a respectable building for work among these "barbarians," as they estimated them—and was transformed into a reading room and is open seven hours a day. Here elementary instruction is given to those desirous of learning to read and write, and thus a

closer acquaintance is made with them. Hundreds have visited this "Foyer"; scores have received some measure of instruction, and some have spent many hours reading the Scriptures. The majority are men without any education, but there are a few intellectuals who listen attentively and ask questions.

The measure of influence thus exercised could be considerably increased were it possible to provide a hostel for the few Christians among them and for those who are interested in the Gospel. It would provide some measure of shelter from the ever-present temptations of the café, the cinema, and the street. The creation of a home atmosphere, of a Christian environment, would do much to counteract the erroneous impression they have of European life, and of a so-called Christian country. These North Africans are frequently surprised to find Europeans who believe in God. The creation of such a hostel would form a centre where French Christians as well as visitors from other countries could meet and know something of these immigrants; that in itself would be a great gain, for to the average Frenchman the North Africans are known only by the newspaper reports of their crimes. The sober, industrious workman, often appreciated by his employer, is quite unknown to the majority of Frenchmen.

In view of the difficulty of renting premises, the only solution seems to be to buy the lease of an already existing hotel and adapt it to the requirements of the work. That would cost anything from £1,000 upwards according to size, and length of lease.

Paris. T. WARREN.

Fuller particulars regarding the work may be obtained from the missionary in charge of the work, Mr. T. Warren, Foyer Nord-Africain, 126, Rue Nationale, Paris, XIIIa, —Editor.

LITERATURE FOR CHINESE MOSLEMS

A comprehensive list of literature in Chinese, prepared for reaching the Moslems with the Gospel, may possibly be on file somewhere in China; as to the literature available today, the Moslem Committee of the China Christian Council could doubtless furnish such information; but the aim of this article is to present some interesting facts regarding this literature as viewed, not from the places of production, but as applied to the Moslems in this one province, Kansu, a great stronghold of Islam.

Some one wrote a booklet, dated earlier than 1900, which became submerged under an ill-chosen title, so that workers among Moslems failed to find it. The next one to attempt the task of classification chose appropriate titles, but made no use of Arabic inscriptions, the text being entirely in Chinese. In 1901 a booklet was published in Shanghai entitled "Record of a Moslem's Search after Truth." The edition consisted of two thousand copies. Many copies are still on hand undistributed. Also several places can still furnish copies of the second edition of a booklet on Mohammedanism published in Shanghai in 1903. It consists of the first two chapters of a book on comparative religion by the Rev. D. MacGillivray.

The Cairo Conference of 1906 aroused the Christian world to a larger interest in the world of Islam. The same year saw a series of booklets launched in China entitled "Testimony of First Converts." Number three was the story of Rev. Imad-ud-Din, D. D., a famous convert in India. The tenth contained the testimonies of two Persian, one Burmese, and one Afghan convert. This series was published, 1906-1910, by the Christian Literature Society, Shanghai.

In 1911, another General Conference on Missions to Moslems was held at Lucknow. The interest aroused also affected China indirectly. A new contribution to the literature adapted for Moslems came the same year from the press in West China at Cheng-tu, Szechuan. Two advance steps may here be noted. All the earlier books had been in the classical style; these were in simple Mandarin. An Arabic inscription, being the title of each book, was printed on an inside page. These are all translations of tracts found useful in Arabic-speaking lands. Some of the titles follow: "The Debt of Ali bin Omar", "The Dream of Ali-Khan", "The Sinless Prophet", and "The Real Islam." Two booklets were issued in Chefoo, N. E. China, in 1915, bearing on the cover an appropriate Arabic inscription. One was entitled "Lost in the Desert." About this time also there appeared a widely distributed booklet on the life of William W. Borden.

Plans for most of the present available literature were started in 1917, as a result of the visit of Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer. Since that date the contributions in the main have come through two channels. The one group is sponsored by Mr. Isaac Mason, whose painstaking translations and original tracts are published through the Christian Literature Society for China; the other by a committee on Work for Moslems, whose varied booklets are now published by the Religious Tract Society for China. Certain titles overlap, but there is no competition, as each booklet provides for a special need. In 1919 there appeared "Christ in Islam," based on the useful treatise published in India by Rev. W. Goldsack on the same subject, and "Sweet First Fruits" a translation of the well-known book by a Syrian Christian in the Near East. Three other booklets were also published: "Messiah Jesus," "Forgiveness of Sin," and "Mohammed," as well as a few leaflet-tracts. The next year there followed "Ghulam's Renunciation, a tale of Eastern Bengal," and a new translation of the autobiography of Rev. Imad-ud-Din, D. D. More recently two other important transla-

tions have been added—Canon Gairdner's booklet, "A Dialogue about Mohammedanism," and "Christianity and Mohammedanism" by W. R. W. Gardner.

The Moslem Committee has provided a series of small but very attractive booklets with illustrated covers. These are a few of the titles: Who Can Intercede for Me?, Christ Jesus, Redeeming Possessions, Jesus' Death and Resurrection, Gold and Silver Caskets. The book by this committee entitled "Sweet First Fruits," unlike the earlier one, concerns converts from Islam in India. "Christ in Islam" and "God in Islam," translations of Mr. Goldsack's books, have also appeared.

One more booklet requires special mention, as filling a real need. The Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, has published a catechism of Christian doctrine, using terms that are clear to Moslems.

Suitable leaflets especially prepared for Moslems also exist but without great variety. Some must have been published before 1917, but more appear to be old survivals. In 1918 a series of a dozen very neat folders was issued in Peking. "Guidance for Moslems" is the Arabic catch-word at the top of each. Simultaneously three sheet tracts were issued from Chefoo. All three bear the same Arabic caption. One is a song in twelve verses about "the One True God, not Two"; a second is a simpler tract for Moslem women on the same line; a third is a larger tract with many references to the Scriptures.

Efforts have been made to introduce Moslems directly to the Scriptures through bilingual, *i. e.* Chinese-Arabic portions. "The Sermon on the Mount" is one of the most useful of these. Scripture portionettes in Chinese after the manner of those in Arabic have been issued and are very useful. The British and Foreign Bible Society has also issued bilingual Gospels and Acts. Only one large wall-poster has been prepared especially for Moslems, but others are now being planned. This one speaks of the Bible as the Light, and Christ as the Light of the World. Small companion tracts are also available having

bilingual explanations, and reproducing the larger tract in small space.

Reference to the extensive distribution of Bibles and portions in Chinese by the various Bible Societies and Scripture-distributing agencies does not fall within the scope of this article. Distribution of tracts and leaflets must be accompanied by the work of the above societies, for these tracts point to the Scriptures, and if they are not obtainable this would discourage the Moslem's search after the truth. The ultimate aim is that he see Christ as his only Saviour as revealed in God's Word.

There are here on my desk copies of two excellent leaflets for Moslems. One is the third of a series entitled "Testimony Series," translation of a leaflet by the Egypt General Mission. The other is "True Guidance Series" being the translation of an interview with an Indian Moslem.

A list of the literature now available for Moslems, published at intervals and distributed to all missionaries who have Moslems in their districts, is the most imperative need. Such a list would inform many of the splendid helps available, and also reveal where and why the literature has failed to meet certain needs. Although there is much more of this literature than most missionaries imagine, yet considering that the total of the literature available *hardly amounts to nine hundred pages* there is room for increase.

Much of the recent literature uses the title of each booklet in Arabic script as a caption. This attracts the Moslem just as much, and does not have the objectionable features which our use of the strictly Islamic *"Bismillah"* possesses. In this part of China our use of the formula is often looked upon as a trick to trap the unwary, and there is a question as to the propriety of continuing its use.

Hochow, Kansu, China. GEORGE K. HARRIS.

CURRENT TOPICS

British-Arabian Treaties

The press has been strangely silent regarding the new treaties entered into by Ibn Saoud, the leading ruler of Arabia, with Great Britain. For over a century British influence has been supreme on the whole Arabian coast and it would seem that even in the interior her efforts at peace will prevail. According to a correspondent in *The Near East and India,* "In the White Paper that has been published (Cmd. 2,566) may be studied exactly the nature of the compromise that was reached, last November, on the part of the ruler of Nejd and of a British Representative of the two mandated States, between the traditional desert or tribal law, and the new international law. The two Agreements which Sir Gilbert Clayton and Sultan Ibn Saoud made on the subject of Iraq and Nejd and of Transjordan and Nejd are known as the Bahra and the Hadda Agreements, and they are, we think, likely for long to be regarded as models of their kind. One hardly knows whom to congratulate the more, Sir Gilbert or the Sultan, for both acted in the highest spirit of statesmanship. The great Wahhabi chieftain has recognized facts—a thing which, when it signifies the respecting of privileges of a neighbour who might easily be overcome in battle, comes to an Arab ruler not quite as second nature; and Sir Gilbert has most happily completed the task which Colonel Knox, building on Sir Percy Cox's sapient foundations, began at Koweit about two years ago and which unfortunately, but inevitably, in consideration of the fact that the general situation in the Arabian Peninsula was not then sufficiently clarified, he had to relinquish. The ex-Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government has accomplished something of really imperial importance. For so long as Iraq enjoys the guidance of Great Britain—a period which, by the way, it is impossible to indicate—the proprieties of its southern frontier will be loyally observed by Nejd. The trouble that comes from tribal raiding, from peaceful migration, or from moves prompted by sheer economic necessity, is, of course, one of old standing: the urge northwards from Nejd to Iraq has been a constant one with the Arabs. Nor have the Wahhabis of Central Arabia, when arrived in Iraq, always forsaken their allegiance (except as taxpayers!) to the Sultans of Riyadh. Now for some years after the creation of King Faisal's State, the presence in Iraq of Ibn Saoud's subjects was a matter of concern both to the Nejd and to the Baghdad Government, and it would, perhaps, be foolish to suppose that the tribes will at once and scrupulously respect a frontier which experts in remote capitals have pleased themselves to draw. But a definite beginning has been made, and it was a wise conception which prompted Sir Gilbert Clayton and Sultan Ibn Saoud to agree that violations by Bedouin of the terms of their treaties should be punished in accordance with tribal custom. This was in effect the happiest compromise between the notions of the desert and the ideas of the sown.

"Similarly with the Hadda Agreement, which included a definition of Transjordan's frontiers as well as a description of the rights relating to the passage of tribes from Nejd to Syria and *vice versa*. That strange edifice which was designed as much as a bulwark to Palestine against the unknown forces of the desert as a gratification of the Emir Abdullah's aspirations is now implicitly recognized as an entity (albeit more mathematical than geographical) by the wild tribesmen of Nejd, the nearest of whom knew something of its inconvenient existence when they made that disastrous dash for Amman in 1923. The success of Sir Gilbert Clayton in persuading the Wahhabis to regard Transjordan in so friendly a light could have been brought about only by one who had at once the deepest insight into imperial problems and into the Arab mind.

"It should not be supposed, however, that in thus getting stabilised, or at least respected, the frontiers of Iraq and of Transjordan, the British Representative was dealing with a declared enemy of the mandated States. For students of the Arabian problem, who, incidentally, are not necessarily to be confused with sympathisers with the Hashimite family, have all along recognized the loyalty towards Great Britain of Sultan Ibn Saoud of Nejd and its dependencies; the patience in spite of extreme provocation, the love of Great Britain in face of an occasional uncharacteristic action on the part of individual Englishmen, the practice of considered statesmanship when precedent and follower alike called for impetuous deed—all these, and more, are to be credited to the Sultan of Nejd. Quite patently he is, as he deserves to be, master of the Arabian Peninsula, and this country, with its vital interests in Islam and particularly in the welfare of the *hajjis*, may account itself fortunate that it has him as its friend."

Inspiration Islamic and Christian

In the issue of *The Moslem World* for April, 1926, there appears an article entitled "The Question of Inspiration" by the Rev. G. N. Gibson, a missionary of the English Baptist Mission, Dinapur Cantonment, Bihar and Orissa. The writer presents in concise form the Moslem view of Inspiration, which is divided into two kinds, *wahi* and *ilham*. The former applies to the Koran alone and is a mechanical view whereby God dictates the words of revelation directly to Mohammad, the passive, receptive medium, who in turn records the words thus received. *Ilham*, on the other hand, is an inspiration of ideas rather than actual words, and is applied to the Islamic traditions. This latter form of inspiration is, in the mind of the Moslem, inferior and unauthoritative.

In the face of this unfavourable comparison of the New Testament with the Koran made by Mohammedans, what is to be the attitude of the Christian missionary? How may he win not merely the argument but the man?

Mr. Gibson presents in his article what he holds to be an adequate answer to this question. He says in brief: The Bible is the product of progressive revelation. The Old Testament contains the record of a long line of messengers and messages to men. Jesus is the culmination of this line. "He was God's greatest messenger to mankind, giving as full a revelation of God as it was possible for man to receive." The writer of the article under review realizes that at this stage in his reasoning he is sure to be confronted by the argument of the Moslem that all

this may be good and true, but one in that inspired line has since emerged who is the Final Prophet. To which Mr. Gibson would reply in the following fashion:

"Christ was indeed the full and final revelation of God to man. Our idea of revelation, however, is a progressive one. In the Old Testament we see the development of ideas about God for a period of over a thousand years, culminating at last in the coming of Christ. The revelation, however, was not completed then. The ideas that Christ brought into the world needed to be worked out in life, and it is only as life expands that we find them coming to be understood. . . . Our Scriptures, however, are a stream that has been for ever flowing since the beginning. They are complete and final. But the source of inspiration is not dried up. It still continues, and men are still being inspired by God to-day, and have as real a message for mankind as ever Mohammed believed himself to have. The real meaning of prophet is not fore-teller but forth-teller, in other words, 'a preacher,' and those who go forth to-day with the message of redemption through Christ can indeed be prophets and receive inspiration from God. The day of God's inspiring His messengers is not past. To those who live in close fellowship with God, His message will come with true inspiration. We believe that under the influence of that inspiration, mankind will be led ever onward and upward till it stands perfected in a new Kingdom of God, more glorious than was ever dreamed of by the prophet of Arabia."

The implication of this inspiration-stream theory is that Mohammed is in the stream. Likewise Christ. The statement is made that He is the full and final revelation, and then it is promptly repudiated by what follows. Scripture is referred to as complete and final, and then the following sentence begins with a "But" that proceeds to show that it is neither complete nor final. A position of equivocation is definitely taken, presumably in an effort to lead possible Mohammedan inquirers from the stage of truth in which they find themselves on and up to a stage supposedly better. And the curious extreme to which the writer finds himself drawn in this vain attempt is that we missionaries too are inspired with an inspiration not differing in kind from that of the other propagandists preceding us in the stream.

The confusion as to the nature of divine inspiration is apparent. It arises from confusion as to the nature of Christ. It emerges in confusion as to the nature of sanctification. Jesus Christ, of course, is not one of the prophets in a line of receivers of revelation. He is totally distinct. It is quite true, as the Moslem contends, that He did not write the Gospel as we have it. Nor did He write the imaginary book that they posit behind our Scriptures and then conveniently posit its being lost. As Giovanni Papini puts it in his dramatic style, "the only thing Christ ever wrote was with His finger in the sand, and the wind has erased that record. He did not receive the Gospel. He *is* the Gospel." The "holy prophet Jesus" is a pure fabrication of the Eastern mind, quite remote from the historical Redeemer of mankind. Our Saviour is nothing less than what He Himself said, the Way, the Truth and the Life. No one cometh unto the Father save by Him. Christ is the content of revelation and not, as the Mohammedan would suppose, the receiver of revelation. He is that which hath been revealed.

After all, what do we mean by Inspiration? In the first place, it is something separate and distinct from Revelation. Revelation is the con-

tent of truth that God in His infinite wisdom has seen fit to disclose unto finite men. God's Word, however, is made up not merely of His divine revelation, but also includes certain facts of history and of human experience together with conclusions which have been deduced from those facts. Inspiration marks the method by which both the revealed truth and these certain facts of human life are recorded.

HOWARD E. ANDERSON—(condensed)—*The Indian Standard.*

Adaptive Islam

A life-size statue of Mustapha Kemal has been unveiled in Constantinople—the first ever permitted in a Moslem country. It is another example of ignoring the letter of the Koran and the traditions, and ingeniously finding in their "spirit" justification for Western innovations. More and more strongly grows the movement to scrap the voluminous legal literature interpretative of the Koran, and to find in that book itself permissive adaptability for a changing world order. Facts are dead against the assumption that acceptance of the fripperies of Western civilization predicates a dissolution of essential Islam. Conservative Persia is turning to Christ in a measure to which Modern Turkey is wholly a stranger.

We need to readjust our point of view of the Moslem East; its amazing adaptability is an entirely new thing. East and West are meeting at the tailors, but they do not meet in church. The door of the harem has been unlocked—though no less a personage than the angel Gabriel is believed to have brought to Moslems the divine permission to wed four wives. Nevertheless, on Monday, October 4th, by the adoption of the Swiss Code, a custom consecrated by twelve centuries of usage was declared to be henceforth a criminal offence in Turkey. Moslem jurists have succeeded in harmonizing the new Christian Code with the "spirit" of the Koran concerning woman. It is all a matter of adaptive interpretation.

Meanwhile it is as dangerous for a Turk openly to confess Christ in Stamboul, as it would be under the shadows of the Meccan Kaaba.

—World Dominion.

Progress in Iraq

We learn from *The Empire* what has been the recent advance in Mesopotamia. "Sir Henry Dobbs' account of the progress of the country, given to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, was a fine commentary on some well-remembered forebodings and criticisms of the British Government's determination to see Iraq firmly established as a self-governing state. Eight critical years have passed, and it is now possible to consider the question of recommending Iraq's admission to membership of the League. Her Parliament has settled down to constitutional government; her Budget has shown surpluses for the past four years; the cost to the British Exchequer, heavy at first, has become negligible. Turkey is no longer a menace. In 1920 there were 473 senior British officers in Iraq's service; today there are 100. In 1920 there were 530 British and 2,200 Indians in her subordinate staff; today there are 100 British and 600 Indians. 'It may be contended,' said Sir Henry Dobbs, 'that in our desire to give rapid effect to our inten-

tions and to the spirit of the Covenant, we are attempting to teach Iraq to run before it can walk. I answer that the attempt has been successful.'"

Jiddah the Port of Mecca

A correspondent in *The Near East and India* writes concerning the present-day conditions of this old city which Burton and Burckhardt once described as the acme of intolerance and stagnation.

"Jiddah changes but slowly and unwillingly. The Tomb of Eve has lost its cupola but is otherwise intact, though no longer the object of visitation by the ladies of Jiddah on Thursday afternoons as it used to be. In fact, the ladies of Jiddah, in deference to the new and stricter dispensation, appear to have retired into greater seclusion than was customary under the Sharifian sway. Another outward change is the new sea-water condenser, which rears a second chimney in companionship with that of its obsolescent but still active predecessor dating from the pre-war régime. Water is now comparatively abundant and costs but a penny a tin—during the siege it rose as high as sixpence. The summer drought still prevails and the rainclouds, which have been wandering round this region, have so far given us but meagre showers. Motor cars have established themselves as a definite part of Jiddah life, adding to the noise and dust of the streets, but progress in this direction has not been as rapid as one might reasonably have anticipated last March. This is perhaps in part due to the failure of the Motor-Transport Company, which was accorded an exclusive concession for the transport of pilgrims. The Company appears to have pinned its faith to Ford buses, which are not eminently suitable for the sandy tracks between here and Mecca and are now for the most part lined up in derelict rows in a secluded part of the town. The original concession was cancelled by the Government in July and the motor transport business is open to all comers—the resulting competition should make for progress. The past pilgrim season is written off as a poor one from the point of view of the Jiddah merchants and shopkeepers, depending as they do on the overseas pilgrims, whose numbers are generally given for the season as fifty-four thousand. The Egyptian pilgrimage was exceptionally large, and that from the Dutch East Indies well below the average mark."

Indian Moslems and Ibn Saoud

"The return of the Indian deputation from the Hejaz," says *The Near East and India* correspondent, "has been made the occasion for a number of meetings, a quantity of talk, and a great deal of abuse of Ibn Saoud. The Ali brothers, who went to Mecca as his fervent partisans, have returned with altered views: the change being apparently due to Ibn Saoud's refusal to accept the dictation of the 'Central Khilafat Committee.' At an Indian Moslem Hejaz Conference held in Bombay in mail-week, a large part of the proceedings was devoted to denunciation of Ibn Saoud and the Wahhabis: and it was resolved, *inter alia,* that 'the domination of the Nejdis over the Hejaz cannot be tolerated in any way. An explanatory statement says that this resolution is due to the 'knowledge and convictions, from the past history of one hundred and eighteen years, of the Wahhabis' character and habits, history and traditions, bigotry and intolerance, ignorance and utter want of culture and of

knowledge of the principles of Government'—a sufficiently sweeping indictment. From this, says the Conference, 'it will be realized how right it is to resolve not to tolerate their domination over the Hejaz in any way.'"

Islam in New York City

Saleh Ahmad Al Khateeb, who calls himself "Moslem Imam for New York City," publishes a very interesting tract, at 67 Washington Street. It is in English and answers the question "What is Islam?" as follows (we quote a few paragraphs):

"Islam is a very simple faith. It requires man to recognize his duties towards God, his creator, and his fellow creatures. It teaches the supreme duty of living at peace with one's surroundings. It is preeminently the religion of peace. The very name 'Islam' means 'Peace'. The goal of a man's life according to Islam is peace with every thing, *peace with God and peace with man.* Koran, the holy book of Islam, tells us that the final abode of man is the 'house of peace' where 'no vain word or sinful discourse' will be heard. The Holy Prophet of Islam says that 'a follower of Islam in the true sense of the word is one whose hands, tongue, and thoughts do not hurt others.'

"Object of a man's life according to Islam is its complete unfoldment. Islam teaches that man is born with unlimited capacities for progress. Islam does not support the idea that man is born in sin. It teaches that every one has within him the seed of perfect development, and it rests solely with himself to make or mar his fortune. "We created man in the best make," says the holy Koran. Cardinal doctrine of Islam is the Unity of Godhead. We believe in one God who is All-Good, All-Mercy, and All-Power. He is Perfect and Holy, All-Wisdom, All-Knowledge, and All-Truth.

"Prophethood of Mohammed is the second pillar of Islam. We believe that God through His Infinite Mercy and Grace has been raising great teachers throughout the ages, in all countries and all climes. We do not believe that His Bounties have been restricted to one place or people. Hence we honour and respect all the great teachers of the past. We honour twenty-five Prophets. Among them are Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. All we add is that Mohammed was also a great teacher and a Prophet of God.

"Islam forbids impurity of every kind. Cleanliness of body and mind is a prerequisite for a Moslem. His body, his food that makes that body, and his thoughts that arise in that body must all be clean. That is why pork, wine and gambling are absolutely forbidden.

"Science and knowledge have always been encouraged in Islam. Throughout Islamic history you will not find people being persecuted for the sake of their having made certain discoveries in science and art. Islam has ever been the champion of rationalism and scientific research. It teaches the universal brotherhood of man and the greatest wonder and the miracle of miracles is that among its followers it has obliterated and practically effaced all ideas of racial or colour superiority."

The Mohammedan Minorities of Jugo-Slavia and Their Economic Position

We abridge the following article from the *Economic and Financial Review* of Belgrade, Jugo-Slavia:

The Mohammedan minorities of Jugo-Slavia form only one section of Islam, and under this title can be included only the Turks and Albanians in the Kingdom, who are distinct both by language and race, not only from their Christian fellow citizens, but also from their coreligionists in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A survey of the map of the districts inhabited by the Mohammedan minorities shows that these are very much intermixed with the Christian Serbian element. It is also noticeable that the districts populated by the Mohammedan minorities are the richest and the most fertile parts of south Serbia, as for example Metohia, the lower Polog, the Tikvesh, and the Strumitsa, Kotchane and Vardar valleys. These facts regarding the geographical position of the Mohammedan minorities are the result of two important historical events. The first was the Ottoman invasion and its victories over the independent states of the Balkans—Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia. The second was the emigration of the Balkan peoples, particularly the Serbs and a section of the Albanians, northwards to the districts of south Hungary.

With the first of these events is bound up the fundamental principle of Ottoman government with regard to its subject peoples—conversion to Islam and colonization. Once having broken finally the resistance of the conquered, the Turks set about consolidating their power by the spread of their religion. In fact it is to their religion that a large measure of their success may be ascribed. For four centuries the Turkish *régime* made use of conversion to Islam by exploiting all the weaknesses of human nature. The minority dominated, and as the most powerful class held entire control of commerce and crafts in the towns. Further, it enjoyed the favor and support of the Government. The Christian element was subordinated to it. As the laborer on the soil, the Christian was subject to the will of the owner of the land which he cultivated, and in many cases had fewer rights than the slaves of ancient times. Where he was a townsman, the Christian was regarded as a citizen of secondary importance. He was allowed to work in the towns but not to increase his business as much as he might have done. That is why, even today, Christian business men and craftsmen are rare in the towns in south Serbia.

The Ottoman *régime* had one aim, viz., that of increasing the power and prestige of the Mohammedan element as much as possible at the expense of the Christian majority. From an economic point of view, this doctrine was most harmful to progress, and was bound to lead to religious indifference and race hatred. In addition, the faulty administration, with its lack of morality and complete ignorance of the necessity of emancipating the productive classes, led to entire stagnation of every kind of economic activity. Agriculture fell to the lowest level. Cultivation was confined to those crops which by reason of climate, soil, and cheap labor could withstand foreign competition. This was the reason why there existed within the Ottoman Empire in 1912 districts which were deficient in the production even of the primary necessities. No attention whatsoever was paid to the encouragement of agriculture by the popularization of modern implements and machinery, or by increasing the yield by means of manures. To such an extent have the customs of their forefathers been maintained that even today there are large numbers of Mohammedan farmers to whom the iron plough is still unknown, and who still employ the primitive wooden instrument.

Commerce and trade were confined to local consumption, and were indirectly affected by the social and economic misery of the agricultural class. Merchants and artisans were forced to get profit from agriculture. It was almost a rule that tradesmen and artisans should also cultivate land, either of their own or for others. They grew mainly tobacco, the poppy, cotton, and rice, or carried on silkworm or cattle raising. Any commerce on a large scale was impossible with the unstable political position and the lack of any specialized commercial education. This is the only explanation of the absence of any modern industry and the almost total dependence of commerce on foreign countries.

In 1913, after the fall of the Ottoman domination in Europe, the economic position of the Mohammedan minority with regard to the Christian majority stood thus: The Mohammedans owned most of the fertile cultivable land, while all Christian cultivators were under their domination. In the towns the Mohammedans were in the majority, and gave the towns an almost Oriental character. Thus up till the very end of the Ottoman *régime,* the Mohammedan minority exercised over the Christian majority a harsh dominance bordering on illegality and anarchy, and thus widened the gulf created by religious intolerance.

The Christians in the towns, weaker in numbers, economically enfeebled, socially backward and politically gagged, had only one desire—to obtain liberty together with civic and economic equality. They are better educated than the Mohammedans, in the towns at least, and have a clearer understanding of economic needs. These were the characteristics with which they entered the new era of Christian rule. It was the endeavor of the new *régime* to create conditions as favorable as possible for general progress, while protecting the rights of minorities. The Mohammedans, therefore. were given the same political, economic and social rights as the Christians; but brought up in the traditions of the past were used to count on state support and regarded the new state of affairs with anxiety. Their mentality was more fitted for the ideas of obedience and servitude than for relations in everyday life with those who were so recently subject to them. This feeling they have been at little pains to hide, and even now, when they have the rights of suffrage, of intervention with the authorities and of forming political organizations strong enough to afford them effective protection, they declare that they regret the short time of Serbian domination between the Balkan wars and 1914, when there was military government in their parts, adding that in those days "they knew whom to obey and who had the right to command." They do not understand the idea of equality. Undoubtedly their instinct of religious intolerance and their belief in an inevitable reversal of policy with the increase of the Christian element around them, contributes much to this state of mind.

The Mohammedans, who refuse to recognize the chain of events which has encircled them, are doing nothing, beyond certain political action, to prepare for the future. They pay little attention to the education of their youth, and the number of young Mohammedans at the colleges and special schools is very small. The Mohammedans participate little in societies for the protection of professional interests, and are the most backward in the creation of new industries. They make use of every opportunity of emigrating to the new Turkish republic, selling all they have for next to nothing in order to emigrate to a distant country of which they know nothing except that it is the country of Islam, where

the followers of other religions have fewer privileges than the faithful. —*The New Armenia.*

Christian Converts from the Riffs

The North Africa Methodist Episcopal Conference was held this year up in the beautiful mountains of Kabylia, one hundred miles east of Algiers, at Fort National, the regional station. This is also the military center of the French government for the Grand Kabylia containing a half million of Berber (Kabyle) people, living in their picturesque villages perched on the mountain tops. They are the same kind of folks, only more civilized, as those who are fighting the French and Spanish in the Riff region of Morocco, reports the Rev. Edwin F. Frease.

The French commandant at Fort National placed his own home and other military buildings at the conference disposal for entertainment. The commandant, the chief civilian officer, and the other principal officials and residents of the Fort, with their women folk, as well as a number of prominent Kabyles, were at the reception given to Bishop John L. Nuelsen and the conference, and gave a most hearty welcome. What a contrast to the suspicion and mistrust of only a few years ago!

Some instances of baptisms and conversions as reported to the conference may be of interest:

Looking from Fort National across the intervening ranges, one sees, perched on a crest in face of the highest cliff-crowned mountains of Algiers, the out-station in the Ouadias tribe, with several villages on neighboring heights. There in the little church building, the only one in these mountains, were baptized a stalwart, tall, Kabyle mountaineer, his wife and only child, and two upstanding young men. They are very different now from their Riff kinsmen in Morocco, still in medieval Moslem savagery.

Of the same sturdy stock, but this time in Algiers, on Easter Sunday were baptized five of the older girls of the Kabyle Girls' Home, and Sunday before conference nine of the older boys from the Algiers Boys' Home. All were baptized at their own request, after clear evidence of conversion and careful teaching.

The Crescent and the Cross at Nicæa

Writing in *The Church Times* (London), Canon J. A. Douglas sketches the history of the old Greek city of Nicæa, where the creed of Christendom was proclaimed May 20, A. D. 325. Sixteen centuries after, the Turks destroyed the old church and heaped insult on the last remnant of the Greek congregation.

"In September, 1920, Mustapha Kemal's minion, Djevad, caught the French napping, raided Nicæa, and butchered its six hundred Christians. They shod the old priest with horse shoes, and set Turkish lads to ride him through the streets. Only two little girls and one woman escaped. At the same time, they looted the Koimesis, firing their guns at its mosaics and hacking its eikons to shreds. When the British turned them out, the saintly old Bishop Basil found nothing but the dead bodies of his people piled in a cave on the hillside, and the shell of his old cathedral church.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ritual and Belief in Morocco, by Edward Westermarck. Two volumes. pp. 608, pp. 629, with map, illustrations, and index; Macmillan and Co., London; 50 shillings net.

Readers of Frazer's "Golden Bough"—that encyclopedia of folk-lore and superstition—or those who have become acquainted with the scholarly work of Dr. Westermarck in his "History of Human Marriage," "Marriage in Morocco," or "The Origin and Development of the Moral Idea," will eagerly welcome these two portly volumes. They draw the veil and explain the mysteries of ritual and belief in a section of the Moslem world that is typical of all the rest. In the course of twenty-one journeys between 1898 and 1926, the author spent altogether seven years in Morocco visiting tribes and towns in every part of the country. He spent half a year in Fez and many months in Marrakesh and Magador living close to the people and observing every detail of their daily life with microscopic eye and scholarly acumen. The result of this study is a classified exposition of Moslem beliefs and practices among the Berber race that is as complete as it is fascinating.

In the Introduction we learn of the origin of the Berbers and their culture and the author's peculiar views of the relation between religion and magic. Then follow three chapters on *Baraka* (saintly virtue) its prevalence, manifestations, effects, and its sensitiveness to outside influence. Chapters four, five and six deal with *Jinn* and *Jnun,* with a brief chapter on individual spirits. Chapter eight tells at length of the evil eye; chapters nine and ten of oath and covenants; while chapter eleven reveals the secrets of witchcraft and sorcery. In the second volume we have special chapters on omens and dreams; on superstitions regarding the calendar (three chapters); on rites and beliefs connected with agriculture; on influencing the weather; a most interesting chapter on peculiar customs and beliefs regarding animals, (although this is found at greater length in the celebrated zoology of Damiri, translated by Jayakar); a chapter on child-birth superstitions; and in conclusion two chapters on death in which we can see the Moslem of Morocco facing the dark future. A strong plea for Christian missions could be based on these eschatological beliefs which are typical of those of the Moslem community the world over.

The wealth of material collected, the skill with which it is all classified, and the scientific conclusions of the learned author make this a veritable encyclopedia of popular Islam. One word of caution and criticism is, however, necessary. When Dr. Westermarck uses the doctrine of evolution and natural selection to explain human conduct it is, in the words of Doctor Francis L. Patton, "simply an unverified and unverifiable hypothesis based upon an unauthorized inference from the supposed demonstration of the Darwinian doctrine of the origin of species." Dr.

Patton referred more especially to Westermarck's great work on "The Origin and Development of the Moral Idea", but there are traces of the same bias in the work before us. One may, as in the case of "The Golden Bough", admire the skill which marshals such superabundance of facts, as premises, without necessarily in every case accepting the logic of the conclusions. Z.

The Fire of Desert Folk, by Ferdinand Ossendowski; pp.354. $3.00. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1926.

Morocco has led captive many tourists. This is an account of a journey made in 1924 by the author of "Beasts, Men and Gods." The English text is by Lewis Stanton Palen. The author describes the fiery Moors, their historic cities, their life and mysticism, and their undaunted zeal for freedom and independence. He paints the picture in all its gorgeous Oriental color. Portions of the book remind one of Washington Irving's "Alhambra." Aside from the description of the people and the scenery, we have his impressions of Islam as a social problem in North Africa. He gives the viewpoint of the Moors regarding the French and although not a book of technical information on Morocco, the conclusions of the writer, as his observations, go deeper and are more thorough than in the average book of travel.

Mohammed, by R. F. Dibble, pp. 257; $3.00, The Viking Press, New York, 1926.

The author has had experience in biographical work and is known as a popular magazine writer. He has seized the opportunity to present in popular form and with considerable literary skill the character and life of Mohammed, with a fine dramatic effect, often with more than a touch of irony, and yet with balanced judgment. The book is remarkable in that it has no references to the work of other writers, no index, and no particular plan.

The author believes that "by steering a zigzag course between the Scylla of rhapsodical praise and the Charybdis of envious detraction, it may be possible to arrive at a relatively detached and peaceful haven where the immeasurable Arab looms a little less vaguely through the remoteness of thirteen centuries." He succeeds in a measure but the enigma of Mohammed's character is not solved, as is evident when we compare the two chapters entitled "Allah and Mohammed" and "Mohammed and Allah". The tone of ridicule does not always lead to accuracy of statement. Better things have been said of the Koran than this: "The indefeasible privilege of all Holy Writ to be dull—a privilege only too generously exercised—is abused in the Koran with an enthusiasm matched only by the third party of the Pentateuch. The spasmodic structure of the Koran—its absence of cohesion between chapters and even between sentences, its dithyrambic convulsions, its hodge-podge of inchoate and irrelevant ideas, its pervasive lack of charm —may be due, it has been hazarded, to Mohammed's neurotic idiosyncrasy."

A death-bed scene of the prophet closes the volume, and he is left in the garden of his own delights where the angel Gabriel "had borne him, along the familiar route previously traversed in the midnight journey from Jerusalem, for the second and last time into the presence of his Maker."

By permission of Captain Ahmed Abdullah we add here a paragraph from his review which appeared in *The New York Times:*

"There is in this book no scholarship. There is in this book not the slightest understanding of that man who, true Prophet or False, somehow managed to create a system of religion, laws and ethics that survived him for twelve centuries as a living, missionary force; that entirely remolded one-fourth of the human race; that is to-day the only influence able to hurl Western Asia and North Africa against the iron phalanx of European aggression. There is in this book a complete lack of appreciation of the extraordinary, spiritual significance attached to Mohammed's life and teachings.

"Of course the book—if I interpret the jacket correctly—does not claim to discuss Mohammed's spiritual significance. "Well—why not?

"Is it possible to conceive of a biography of Abraham Lincoln, Zoroaster, St. Paul, Lord Gautama Buddha, or Marcus Aurelius, without mentioning *their* spiritual significance? Is a man's life, a man's achievements, only to be measured by the yardstick of his negligible, physical gestures?" Z.

The Lost Oases. By A. M. Hassanein Bey, F.R.G.S. Century Co. 1925. Pp. xxiii, 363. $4.00.

The discoveries of Hassanein Bey during his expedition into the more remote parts of the Libyan Desert stirred the world when he returned in 1923. His interesting journal of his explorations will certainly be read by a wide circle. No one is more fitted to judge the importance of the findings of Hassanein Bey's travels than Dr. Ball of the Desert Surveys Department in Egypt, who writes an appendix on the cartographical results. "His expedition appears to me to be an almost unique achievement in the annals of geographical exploration. The journey of 3,345 km. from Sollum to El Obeid, most of it through inhospitable deserts, sparsely inhabited by fanatical and predatory tribes, is one which, without a strong military escort, could have been undertaken only by a Moslem, and by one of remarkable grit, tact, and perseverance . . . Thanks to the detailed and systematic character of his observations, their reduction has been a pleasant labor, and it has been comparatively easy to mark his route and the newly discovered places along it with a high degree of accuracy."

The matter of greatest importance resulting from this journey is the discovery of the oases Arkenu and Ouenat, which lie across and near the borders of the southwest corner of Egypt. The determination of their positions, extent and water supplies opens up the possibility of caravan travel and trade in that direction. As Hassanein Bey intimates, there has been a persistent rumor among travelers that two oases existed somewhere in that section of the desert. "But the position that they had been conjecturally given on one or two maps was from thirty to one hundred and eighty kilometers out of place. No one had described them from an actual visit." The writer goes on to state this interesting fact: "Both Arkenu and Ouenat differ from all the other oases of the Western Desert of Egypt in that they are not depressions in the desert with underground water supplies, but mountain areas where rain-water collects in natural basins in the rocks."

At Ouenat, Hassanein Bey found some primitive carvings, which the inhabitants believe to be the work of *jinn.* Among the animals depicted there are lions, giraffes, gazelles and ostriches. Two striking things are

to be noticed among these rock-markings—the absence of the camel and the presence of the giraffe. "Did the men who made these pictures know the giraffe and not the camel?"

To the students of the modern movements of Islam, the information in regard to the Senussis is interesting. The author briefly states the history of their origin and spread through brotherhoods, until now they are scattered wherever man goes in the Libyan Desert. He feels that they have saved Islam in North Africa from degradation. Prior to their organization there was much laxity in maintaining the tenets of the orthodox faith. A subterfuge by which Ramadan was avoided is of interest. The Bedouins before the beginning of the sacred month were accustomed to consult the multiple echo in a certain *Wadi Zaza.* In chorus they shouted, "*Wadi Zaza, Wadi Zaza,* shall we keep Ramadan or no?" In chorus it shouted back, "No-no-no!" So they peacefully returned satisfied in themselves to refrain from fasting.

E. E. Elder.

Drie Javaansche Goeroe's Hun Leven, Onderricht en Messiasprediking. — Dr. G. W. J. Drewes; Drukkerij A. Vros, Leiden, 1925. Pp. 212.

A monograph on three Javanese mystics, their teaching, their method and the influence they had in awakening eschatological hopes in the coming of the *Mahdi.*

The first chapter gives their names with a brief history: Kjai Hasan Maulani, of Lengkong; Mas Malangjoeda, of Radjawana kidoel; Kjai Noerhakim, of Pasirwetan.

In the second chapter we have prayers and formulas (*primbons*).

The third chapter gives a summary of similar literature existing in Javanese, traces it back to Sanscrit and other sources, and concludes with an interesting statement of how the early missionaries utilized the expectation of the *Mahdi* in preaching Christ. Z.

Women in Ancient India. By Clarisse Bader. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London. Pp. 338. Price 10/6.

Although this work does not touch Moslem womanhood, the contrast it affords between the treatment of women in Islam and in ancient Hinduism is telling.

The work was crowned by the French Academy, and is here given in translation. The author traces the position of Indian womanhood from the Vedic period, under the laws of Manu, through the Heroic Ages, down to the era of Vikramaditya, 57 B. C. It contains detailed descriptions of the great epic poems, Kalidasa's *Sacuntala* and other famous legends. It is a remarkable fact that women were numbered among the poets in India as early as the fifth century, B. C., and from the twelfth century, A. D., onwards.

Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand. By Ella R. Christie, F.R.G.S. Seeley, Service & Co., London. Pp. 269; 21s.

The sub-title indicates the character of this volume. (Miss Christie made two journeys in Turkestan, the first through the Borsuki Desert and Tashkent to Khokand; the second from the Caspian through Merv, Bokhara and Samarkand to Khokand). It describes her route, and gives interesting pictures of the life at Khiva, Bokhara, Samarkand, Khokand and Tashkent. The historical references, especially the chapter on Tamerlane, are interesting but sketchy, and betray ignorance of the religion which has dominated all this country for centuries; otherwise

one would not speak of "Coptic characters," in the inscriptions at Samarkand (page 173) or of Othman as the son-in-law of Mohammed (page 188). Despite such errors, however, the volume is intensely interesting.

Ghazni; le Decor Epigraphique des Monuments de Ghazna. By André Godard and S. Flury. Paris, Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1925. Pp. 90.

This is a reprint from *La Revue,* Syria, 1925, giving an account of the city of Ghazni, once the capital of a Moslem Empire, today an insignificant village. The ruined monuments of its grandeur were photographed by the French expedition in 1923. A description is given of the mural inscriptions and decorations found on the tower of Mahud and the grave of Subuktegin; the inscription on an unknown tomb, and several fragments of the Koran text, all in ornamental Kufic, making the volume invaluable to the student of Mohammedan art.

Une Consultation Juridique d'Abd el Kader. By Colonel Paul Azan and Abou Bekr Abdesselam Ben Chaib, Oran, 1925. Pp. 25.

This is a reprint of the Bulletin of Archaeology of the Province of Oran, giving the *fatwa* of Abd El Kader regarding Jihad. It is dated June 15, 1837. Times have changed in North Africa, and the study is only of historical interest.

Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov Pri Aziatskom Mysee Rossiiskoi Akademii Nayk. Tom. i. 8vo, 556 pp., with one plate. Leningrad, 1925.

It is with pleasure as well as with great interest that we welcome this first number of the new issue of a Journal of Oriental Studies from Russia. It will be remembered that in 1912 the Imperial Society for Oriental Knowledge at St. Petersburg, commenced to issue as one of its scholarly publications, the Journal *Mir Islama* (The World of Islam), under the very capable editorship of Prof. W. Bartold, well known to all students of Islam from his numerous and exceedingly valuable contributions to the "Encyclopædia of Islam." The great Revolution apparently put an end to *Mir Islama,* for the present writer has neither seen nor heard of more than the pre-war numbers, but interest in Oriental and Islamic studies did not die in Russia, and now once more under the editorial supervision of Prof. Bartold, and under Soviet régime, appears a substantial volume devoted to these studies—*Journal of the School of Oriental Studies at the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.*

It is impossible to do more in this short note than draw attention to some of the important essays in the volume. As would have been expected with Prof. Bartold as editor, a number of articles are devoted to Islamic studies, among them two by the editor himself, one an account of the literature and native Moslem press of Turkestan, and the other an interesting essay on "The Koran and the Sea." Taking up Bauer's conclusions in his article "Fulk" in the Encyclopædia of Islam, he discusses the difficult question of the nautical expressions in the Koran, and Mohammed's knowledge of the sea, especially such passages as xiv. 37: xvi. 14: xvii. 68: xxxi. 30: xxxv. 13: xxxvi. 41, etc. N. Poppe makes a valuable contribution on Mongol names of animals included in Hamdalla-Kazwini. V. Rosen publishes the Arabic text with Russian version and notes of the MS. *Kitab Ikhtira al-Khura* of as-Safadi, which he explains as a specimen of learned Arabic parody, and Romaskevitch completes a service of no little value to bibliographers by providing a

catalogue of the Persian, Turko-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of St. Petersburg, giving cross-references all through to the Catalogues of Rieu, Perthes, Ethe, Browne and to Haji Khalfa.

The other essays are of less interest to Islamic scholars. We note among them three interesting essays by the Scotch-Slav, N. Marr, whose Japhetic theory, based largely on Georgian material, has created much interest in philological circles. He contributes some notes on materials for a grammar of the Armenian dialect of Khermshin, an essay on the literary affinities between Georgian and Persian, and an account of the Georgian inscriptions from Meskhie. Ebermann writes a long and interesting article on the famous medical school of Gundishapur, an article which is in some sort an appendix to Browne's Fitzpatrick Lectures on "Arabian Medicine." Hencko discusses the Oxford fragment of the old Georgian version of Jeremiah, and R. Vasmer the problem of the chronology of the Viceroys of Armenia under the Abbasids. There are five obituary articles, four of them devoted to E. Berésine, discussing the value of his work as a Turkologue, Explorer, Iranist and Mongolist, and one to Père Louis Ronzevalle. Other articles are on Mongolian, Persian, Turkish, Caucasian and Chinese subjects.

The book reviews are not numerous, but they are good and detailed. The fact that some of the books reviewed were published as long ago as 1913 would seem to show that conditions are hardly stable enough as yet in Russia for scholars to get regular exchanges with the rest of the learned world, but their interest is as keen as in pre-war days in what does come to them.

So brief a notice as this cannot do justice to the merits of this volume, many contributions to which are in themselves deserving of reviews, and to some of which we may return later. It is an unusual pleasure, however, to draw attention to work of such high quality and outstanding merit. It is to be hoped that the near future will see even greater freedom for production in Russia, and enable us to draw upon the unique stores of knowledge of Oriental affairs possessed by Russian savants such as Dr. Bartold and his collaborators.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Die Gegenwärtige Gestalt des Islams, von Alfred Bertholet. Published by I. C. B. Mohr Tübingen, 1926. Mohr. 8vo, 39pp. 1s/3d.

This little pamphlet, forming No. 118 of the *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte,* is the reissue in expanded form, and accompanied with numerous notes, of a lecture delivered by Prof. Bertholet, of Göttingen, at the Hanover General Missionary Conference held in Göttingen in July, 1925. The author gives a brief but careful survey of the present day religious life of Islam, both as to theology and practical religious life. He passes in review the modern movements in Islam, in Turkey, Egypt and Persia, as well as in India, and writes interestingly of the popular religion of the Dervish orders, and the even more popular saint worship and magic. References to modern authorities are given throughout, and the lecturer is sympathetic, even when most critical. Students interested in the Dervish Orders will be particularly grateful to Dr. Bertholet for including on pp. 27, 28 a detailed description of some of the glass-munching, fire-licking, scorpion-eating practices indulged

in in the ecstasy experience of North African Dervishes, which the author himself witnessed among the Isawiyya Dervishes of Algiers.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Arabic Anthology of Prose Writers, by Bruennow-Fisher. 3rd Edition, Berlin, 1924. Reuther and Reichart, Publishers.

This book is above all praise. The text will keep the student busy for two or three semesters. Perhaps it will be possible for the next edition to include the beautiful story of Bilkis again. This story does not have so many difficulties for the beginner, as the punctuated stories and jokes now placed at the beginning. The glossary is excellent, for it gives much material for the comparison of Semitic languages.

T. OESTREICHER.

Vier Jahre unter dem Halbmond, on Raphael de Nogales. 260 pp. Price M 14. Verlag Reimar Hobbing, Berlin, S. W. 61.

The author, a Venezuelan general, fought in the World War on the side of the Turks. He became well acquainted with conditions in Anatolian Turkey, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Sinai. Especially interesting are his detailed descriptions of the Armenian massacres, of some of which he was the only Christian eye witness. His testimony is important as he was not a friend of the Armenians. He frankly tells of the deceitfulness and cruelty of the Turks. At some of these massacres he tried to help, but in most cases this was impossible. Through the little he dared to do he was in danger of being sent to the Caucasus, there to disappear. Only through subtlety was he able to escape this danger. Besides the foregoing, we obtain much valuable information in this excellent book concerning Turkish Mohammedanism.

SIMON.

The Phonetics of Arabic. By W. H. T. Gairdner, Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1925. Pp. 107. Price $2.50.

It has been maintained by a great many—language teachers and others—that the acquirement of a perfect pronunciation of Arabic sounds by a Westerner is an impossibility. Mr. Gairdner evidently does not believe this—since he has taken the trouble to write a book solely for the purpose of teaching Europeans and Americans to do this very thing.

An excellent job. So fine, indeed, that I shall hold it up to my classes in Phonetics as an example of what a phonetic text-book should be.

After "preliminary considerations," in which he sets forth the gospel of the phonetic method of acquiring the pronunciation of a language, three chapters follow on the consonants, beginning with a general description, and a classification according to position of the vocal apparatus and place of articulation, and finishing with a detailed description of each consonant, both in the classical and the colloquial.

These chapters are followed by two more, which do the same for the vowels; and then we have a very valuable and really exceptionally enlightening chapter on the influence of the consonants on the vowels, and another concerning the influence of the consonants on each other. The table of syllables is especially worthwhile as a basis for practice in Arabic sounds.

His tenth chapter deals with continuous speech, and such important points as accent, tone, quantity and assimilation, in a lucid and quite sufficient manner, from which he continues in the last chapter to the subject of reading aloud, in various styles.

The remainder of the volume contains short phonetic transcriptions of Arabic texts, from the Bible and the Koran, along with a bit from the colloquial, and from a newspaper, and several examples of Arabic poetry in different meters. He finishes with a short vocabulary of phonetic terms in Arabic.

Perhaps the most noticeably valuable things in this book, aside from its general excellence, are the wealth of examples given throughout, and the very well-drawn and accurate diagrams which explain and exemplify the written descriptions of the Arabic sounds. It is always a pleasure and a profit to read a book on the phonetics of a language which is generous in these two particulars, and their presence increases its value for class-room purposes to an astonishing degree.

American students will need to check the examples of the vowel sounds occasionally, as they are taken from English speech, which differs noticeably from American. However, the author has been careful to call attention to this fact in several places, so it should give no difficulty.

WILLIAM M. RANDALL.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte. Formerly published by Chantepie de la Saussaye. 4th edition. Published in collaboration with many authorities by A. Bertholet and Edw. Lehman. Verlag: J. C. B. Mohr. Tuebingen 1925. Vol. I, 756pp. Vol. II, 735pp. M. 38, bound M. 52.

The most important modern history of religion in the German language. It is indispensible for a study of the history of religions. Prominent German, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Scotch authorities are collaborators. Of importance for Mohammedan missions is the excellent presentation of Islam by Dr. C. Snouck-Hurgronje. It is to be regretted that this article is short, but it can be highly recommended to the beginner as an introduction to the study of Mohammedanism, the veteran will also spend an enjoyable hour on it. Mysticism is especially well treated. Of further importance for Mohammedan missions is the presentation of nature religions by Prof. Ankermann, of Berlin. Even though one may not agree with his concluding hypotheses on the origin of religious life, one must admit the value of a thorough study of this article for those who are working among new converts to Islam from primitive peoples.

SIMON.

Turkun Jordu der Turken Heimatland, by Dr. Karl Klinghardt. Eine geographisch politische Landesschilderung. 177 pp. and 1 map. Hamburg 1925. L. Friederichsen & Co. Paper M. 6.50, Cloth M. 8.

The author is known in Germany as a correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Recently he was again in Turkey for several months as engineer. He can be considered as one of the best authorities on Turkey. In this book he treats chiefly of economic and political conditions.

He does not believe that Turkey will develop rapidly in the economic field, but in the slowness of the process he sees a sign of eventual recovery. It is also noteworthy that the building of railroads is making immense strides. The author does not try to conceal the fact that all European influences—including missions—are discouraged by the Turks.

SIMON.

Borden of Yale '09. By Mrs. Howard Taylor. Pp. 287. Price $2.00 China Inland Mission, London.

The story of William W. Borden's life and devotion has become widely known in mission circles. Born in Chicago, the son of wealthy parents, graduated at Yale University in 1909, and at the Princeton Theological Seminary three years later, he sailed for Egypt determined to study Arabic in order to fit himself for his chosen field, the Mohammedans of Western China. His tragic death in Cairo in 1913, and his last will bequeathing the whole of his fortune to missions, arrested the attention of the public. Missionaries in many fields owe their decision to this meteoric career of unselfish whole-hearted service. The biography is late in appearing, but has the advantage of perspective; while the writer is experienced and has spiritual insight, as well as skill, in marshalling the facts. Altogether this is a book that will have large circulation and abiding influence. We agree with Dr. Howard A. Kelly, of Baltimore, who writes:

"The ministry of such a life, so admirably portrayed is without doubt destined to go on rendering its service in our colleges for decades to come as a living example of the potency of a single-hearted devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ, founded on the Scriptures of our God. Borden illustrated in a remarkable way the potency of the fundamental forces of a fruitful Christian life in his constant recourse to the unbreakable Scriptures, to prayer, and to the confessing to his fellow men of a present living Saviour working through him to whom he yielded himself without reserve."

Das Gesetz wider den Abfall vom Islam, von Samuel M. Zwemer. Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann in Gutersloh, 144 pp. 1926.

This is an authorized German translation of Dr. Zwemer's "The Law of Apostasy in Islam," published by Prof. D. Julius Richter and Dr. D. M. Schlunk in the German mission-study series. All the excellent illustrations of the English edition have unfortunately been omitted, and also the synopsis, and there is no index or bibliography, but the translation appears to be complete and unabridged, and the book will be of great value to those who are interested in missions to Moslems and other students of Islam.

W. G. Shellabear.

Tolstoi und der Orient. By Paul Birukoff. Rotapfelverlag Zurich und Leipzig. 264 pp.

Letters and other documents regarding Tolstoi's relation to representatives of oriental religions. Tolstoi was in personal touch with the Baskirs, and corresponded with many leading Mohammedans. Especially the Behaists and reformers saw in Tolstoi a man with similar ideas, this even more so after he left the Russian State Church. This publication of his correspondence shows plainly why Tolstoi could not agree with his Mohammedan admirers. The Sunnite Moslems could not agree with Tolstoi's mysticism, while he in turn repudiated their blind faith in the authority of the Prophet and their valuation of the Koran. He refuses to accept the Koran, because "it stands between God and man." Tolstoi agreed with the Behaists more, for he believed that they had the universal religion which Tolstoi desired. The correspondence gives us a valuable insight into the mental processes of Mohammedan writers. Simon.

Einfürung in die Phänomenologie der Religion by G. van der Leeuw, Professor of History of Religion in Groningen. 161 pp. M. 3.50 paper bound, Verlag Ernst Reinhardt in München.

In this important book the religion of primitive peoples is treated primarily, but the author desires to treat *all* religious phenomena; for this reason many Mohammedan concepts and customs are also mentioned. This book is of fundamental importance, not only to missionaries who are working among Mohammedans of primitive races, but to every one desiring a deeper understanding of Mohammedan religious phenomena. SIMON.

Quer durch Afghanistan nach Indien, by Dr. Emil Trinkler. 231pp. 70 pictures and a map. Verlag von Kurt Vohwinkel, Berlin-Grunewald.

The author traveled as a geologist in Afghanistan during 1923-24. In diary form and short sketches we receive a good picture of this still quite unknown land. Travel is very difficult, especially in the mountainous regions in winter. Some of the peaks of these mountains are 7,000 meters above sea-level. The roads are very poor, and the natives dangerous. Although they have made some progress toward civilization under the new Emir, a glance at their cruel "justice" shows how backward they still are. SIMON.

Pratiques des Harem Marocains. By A. R. De Lens, Paris. Paul Guethner. 1925. Pp. 95.

We have recently reviewed in our Quarterly a book on Arabian Medicine by Professor E. G. Browne. This is a brief study by Madame De Lens, the daughter of the celebrated Paris physician and surgeon, E. De Lens; she has spent many years in Morocco in close contact with native life. After a brief introduction she collects and classifies all the remedies used by the women of Morocco for the ills that flesh is heir to. as well as the special needs of the Moslem harem. The book ought to appeal to trained nurses and medical missionaries.

Mandana Baschi, Reisen und Erlebnisse eines Deutschen Arztes in Afghanistan, von Dr. Börnstein-Bosta, Mit 38 Abbildungen und eine Karte. 176pp. Verlag Reimar Hobbing, Berlin. M. 9.- in Ganzleinen geb. M 12.-

At the invitation of the Ameer, who is a friend to reforms, the author went to Afghanistan with several doctors in 1923 to help in the founding of a number of hospitals. Through his interesting observations we learn to know the people and the country, and also the religious tendencies of the Afghans. We learn also something of the great difficulties with which the modern reformers must cope. Afghanistan seems to be ready for medical missions. We hear very little of Christianity, but learn that Europeans are occasionally converted to Mohammedanism. This book will be valuable to those who are interested in conditions in Afghanistan. SIMON.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

Constitution of Egypt. (In *Current History,* N. Y. January, 1927, pp. 532-538.)

English text of the Constitution promulgated in April, 1923.

The Greek Minority in Constantinople. A. Andreades. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. January, 1927, pp. 34-40.)

A protest against the systematic ignoring by Turkey of Articles 37-40 of the Lausanne Treaty, together with an indication of the hardships which are being imposed upon the Constantinople Greeks.

Helping the Near East to Help Itself. John W. Mace. (In the *American Review of Reviews,* N. Y. January, 1927, pp. 76-81.)

The American penetration of the Near East in agriculture, sanitation, education, etc., and how it is building up the morale and strengthening the back-bone of the people.

Shah-in-Shah; Reza, Founder of the Pahlavi Dynasty and Heir to the Glory of Cyrus the Great. Vincent Sheean. (In *Asia,* New York. December, 1926, pp. 1053-1059, 1106-1114.)

An interesting sketch of the character and rise of Reza Khan, together with the effect of prosperity upon him.

Turkey Taking Her Place Among Modern Nations. A. Rustem Bey. In *Current History,* New York. February, 1927, pp. 669-675.)

A eulogistic, but rather general, description of the use Turkey has made of her great opportunities in the fields of political, social, and economic reform, in order to appraise her chances of survival in the international struggle for life.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

Downing Street and Arab Potentates. L. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. January, 1927, pp. 233-240.)

Shows how the recent treaties between Great Britain and Ibn Saoud are an inevitable sequence of events in Arabia, with an international significance being given to the status of the Arab peninsula and the Moslem Holy places.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE WAHHABIS. H. StJ. B. Philby. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1926. pp. 298-319.)

An interesting paper on the rise to power of Ibn Saoud, on his relations with the British Government, and on those elements in his innovations in his own country which tend to make stable, even permanent, his unification of Arabia.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

EDUCATION IN ISLAM. Marmaduke Pickthall. (In *The Review of Nations*, Geneva. January, 1927. pp. 75-83.)

Upholds the thesis, from the Moslem point of view, that Moslem opposition to modern education is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of Islam itself, of the character of proper Moslem education, and of the nature of modern Western education.

MUSTAPHA KEMAL AND THE NEW TURKEY. Dudley Heathcote. (In *The Fortnightly Review*, London. January, 1927. pp. 74-84.)

After a brief review of the great leader and his reforms, endeavors to estimate how fundamental and enduring the drastic westernization of the country gives promise of being.

THE SOCIAL SWIM IN ANGORA. Rose Lee. (In *The Century*. New York. January, 1927. pp. 317-325.)

Sidelights on Turkey's attempt to modernize herself, as seen through the introduction of certain western social customs into the intensely nationalistic atmosphere of Angora.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

BOLSHEVISM AND THE NEW ISLAM. Syed Ali Khanoff. (In *The Fortnightly Review*, London. November, 1926. pp. 657-666.)

A warning that the Bolshevist policy in regard to India is identical with that of the former Russian empire: that the intellectual and nationalistic awakening throughout the Islamic world is not as yet sympathetic with Bolshevist fundamentals; and that, therefore, it is tragic rather than unfortunate that every endeavor is not made for the consummation of a good understanding between official Islam and Great Britain.

EGYPT AT THE CROSSROADS. Owen Tweedy. (In *The Fortnightly Review*, London. December, 1926. pp. 748-750.)

Surveys briefly the work in domestic administration of the last parliamentary session, and the effect on Egyptian politics of the Zaghlul-Adly combination.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE PERSIAN GULF. Guy Coleridge. (In *The Nineteenth Century,* London. December, 1926, pp. 828-836; January, 1927, pp. 48-57.)

An impressionistic picture, drawn in sketchy outline, of the history of the relationships between these two localities.

REFLECTIONS ON THE MOSUL PROBLEM. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. October, 1926, pp. 350-364.)

Reflections on the frontier question in so far as it concerns British policy, and the legitimate aspirations of certain Oriental peoples. Table shows distribution of races, religion, etc., in Mosul vilayet.

TURKEY'S NEW SYSTEM OF LAWS AND COURTS. Jasper Y. Brinton. (In *Current History,* New York. January, 1927, pp. 498-503.)

A survey to discover what, if any, practical assurances are afforded today that the abolition of the capitulations, which formerly brought discrimination in favor of the foreigner, will not result in unfair discrimination against him.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR MOSLEMS. Murray T. Titus. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. January, 1927, pp. 26-32.)

An earnest note on the avidity with which the Moslem world is reading, and the inadequate amount of high-grade Christian reading-matter which the church can supply.

ISLAM AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION. Basil Mathews. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. December, 1926, pp. 937-944.)

Evidences of the influence of Western nations and Western science, commerce and thought on the Mohammedan world, with an earnest plea to offset the resulting evil possibilities by true Christian cooperation.

ISLAM IN AFRICA TODAY. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *World Dominion,* London. December, 1926, pp. 58-65.)

A study, with statistics, showing the acuteness of the sharply drawn issue in the struggle on the Dark Continent between the two mighty religions of the world.

PERSIA FACES THE FUTURE. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. January, 1927, pp. 19-26.)

Vivid, encouraging, and compelling impressions of missionary opportunity received during a recent extended tour in Persia and Mesopotamia.

ANTI-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

PROFESSOR ARTHUR JEFFERY
American University, Cairo.

Some time ago Pastor Nielsen, of the Danish Mission in Damascus, was engaged in controversy with certain Moslem divines of that city. Some pamphlets from the pen of one of his opponents Ahmad Fawzi as-Sa'ati have come into our hands and are of sufficient interest to claim a little of our space on this page. These pamphlets are—

(i) **Tuhfatu'r-Raghibin fi Hasmi'l-Jadal bain al-Islam wal-Mubashshirin.**—"The desired Masterpiece to put a final end to the Dispute between Islam and the Preachers." 8vo. 56 pp.

(ii) **Al-Burhan fi I'jazi'l-Qur'an**—Proof of the miraculous Nature of the Koran, 8vo. 45pp.

(iii) **Al-Nahju'l-Qawim fi'r-Radd 'ala ma ja'a fi Risalatai 'Manaru'l-Haqq' wa 'Khitab Karim'.** "The Right Way, a Reply to the Statements of the two Essays", "The Landmark of Truth", and "A Precious Discourse" (these are two pamphlets by Mr. Nielsen which I do not possess and the translation of whose titles therefore is largely guesswork). 8vo, 39 pp.

(iv) **Kitabu'l-Maqsadi'l-Wahid: Iqraru'l-Khasm bi't-Tawhid**—"The Book of the Single Intention: the Confession of the Opponent of Divine Unity". 12mo. 19pp.

Fawzi's primary objection to the work of missionaries is that they are out to harm the beliefs of the simple, poison their thoughts and make low attacks on Islam. The reason for their doing this he thinks is their envy at the wonderful spread of Islam all over the world. The faith of Islam is daily spreading more and more widely over the earth, and this without the assistance of highly paid missionaries and missionary organizations, but only because of its own inherent truth and beauty. In evidence of this he quotes several European writers on the strength of Islam, and concludes that envy has sent these guileful missionaries to come to the home lands of Islam to try and poison it at its source. It is therefore incumbent on Moslem divines to attack and expose this insidious propaganda of the missionaries, and protect the belief of the simple.

In his attack Fawzi bases himself on the assumption that it is impossible to know God by any process of reasoning or intuition, and so we must accept what revelation tells us. Thus the primary question is the superiority of the Moslem revelation, the Koran. We agree with him. The fate of Islam as a religion hangs on the claims of the Koran to be a divine revelation.

In his *Burhan* he deals particularly with this question. In general he covers the usual ground of Moslem controversialists, arguing that the most eloquent of the Arabs were unable to imitate it, which shows of course that it was of more than human production. He points out its

peculiar style which is like nothing ever produced in human literature. (We would be willing to agree with this save that we have read the "Book of Mormon" and "Oahspe.") He reiterates the old claim about its uncorrupted text, and the fact that it contains prophecies which were fulfilled, though the only one he brings forward is our old friend *Roum* (xxx.1) Then he proceeds to a most interesting demonstration of the very commonly heard Moslem claim that the Koran contains all knowledge. Three points he makes ought to become historic: (a) The Koran contains a reference to America, and so knew of it ages before it was discovered. The passage is lv.16 which calls God "Lord of the two Easts, Lord of the two Wests". The two Easts according to Fawzi are the Near East and the Far East, and the two Wests are Europe and America. Q. E. D. (b). The Koran refers to specific gravity ages before scientists discovered this principle. The passage is xv.19—"and we caused everything to spring forth in it in balanced measure", where "balanced measure" is taken to mean specific gravity. (c) It refers to the gramaphone. The passage is xli.20—"They shall say to their skins—Why witness ye against us? They shall say—God who giveth a voice to all things, hath given us a voice."

Coming to the Christian revelation, Fawzi says that there was a genuine Torah and Gospel but these have been lost, and all that the Jews and Christians now have are translations or imitations of the original. Such phrases as "the Lord repented" which represent God doing things not consonant with His dignity, he claims as clear instances of a weak translation of the original (an argument which will evoke many memories in students of the Massorah), and the numerous variants in the gospel accounts of the same events also afford a clear proof that the original Gospel is lost and that these are only poor attempts to reproduce some of it.

On the problem of abrogation he covers familiar ground. Abrogation, he claims, is not revoking but fulfilling, and all laws he says have been changed save that on the Divine Unity. The Koran, he says, was sent down because of the denials of the Jews which made it necessary. He attacks, of course, the divinity of Christ, but brings no new arguments. He disposes of the argument that the divinity of Christ is proved by His miracles, by showing that on this assumption Moses must also have been divine. He has a curious theory as to the need for the coming of Christ. He says that His significance was that in Him God completed the cycle of the different kinds of creation. Adam was created without recourse being had to either male or female. Eve was created from the male without recourse being had to the female. Jesus was created from the female without recourse to the male. Ordinary folk, of course, come from both male and female. Thus the cycle of types of creation is complete.

The only other point that needs mention is his account of the Atonement. He complains of the injustice of the Christian theory, for he thinks that had God's majesty to be satisfied by punishing somebody it would surely have been more just to punish Adam than Jesus. Then, why, he asks, if an atonement was necessary to get rid of the results of sin, why could not God have come down at the time of Adam to clean things up and thus save all the millions who perished during the centuries before Christ came to make this atonement? His more fundamental position, however, is that there was no need for any atonement. Why

should God have worried about making any atonement? Is He so impoverished in His nature that He needs His creatures, or cares whether they obey or disobey? Is there any power above Him to force Him to reconcile His justice and His mercy, as the Christians are always arguing?

* * * * *

This same controversy in Damascus also called forth pamphlets from a well known Syrian litterateur Mhd. Salim al-Kailani. Four of these have come into our hands—

(i) **Kitabu'l-Qauli'th-Thabat fi'r-Radd'ala Da'awa'l-Brutistant.** Book of Convincing Argument in reply to the Claims of the Protestants. 8vo. 36 pp.
(ii) **Ar-Risalatu'l-Ula fi'r-Radd 'ala'l-Brutistant.** 8vo. 31 pp.
(iii) **Ar-Risalatu'th-Thania fi'r-Radd 'ala'l-Brutistant.** 8vo. 32pp.
(iv) **Ar-Risalatu'th-Thalitha fi'r-Radd 'ala'l-Brutistant.** 8vo. 32pp.

The first, second, third epistle are in reply to the Protestants.

Kailani's pamphlets are almost entirely taken up with the question of the miraculous nature of the Koran, but as he does not advance anything new it is hardly necessary to deal with them in detail here.

* * * * * * *

M. L. Levonian, of Athens, has forwarded to us an interesting communication on an article by Omar Hilmi in the Constantinople daily paper, *Khalk*. The author has been in England and has some claim to know Christianity as it is lived and understood in the West. He is now an assistant lecturer in the University at Constantinople, and has been contributing a series of articles to the journal *Khalk,* on the development of Penal Codes. In his discussion of the Mosaic Code, he makes some interesting remarks on primitive Christianity.

"The whole of Jesus' knowledge about the world of His time was limited to that of the gay society of the fishers on the lake of Tiberias, of Jerusalem, and the majesty of the temple of Solomon where a ritualistic religion was administered by a Jewish priesthood, and a little knowledge of Mosaic law and rabbinic text-books.

"The contrast between the conditions of poor fishermen of Galilee who did not need to think of tomorrow, and the rich and luxurious priests who officiated in the pomp of Jerusalem, viewed from the point of view of His life as a carpenter, made this society appear to Him a society of hypocrites and rebels. And it was this attitude and outlook that made Him complain in so touching a way: 'the foxes have holes, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head.'

"He was pointing continuously to His disciples 'Do not you see that no one by being anxious can add one cubit to his stature? Do you not consider the splendour of the lilies of the field so that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of them? Life is not worth being anxious for eating and drinking and raiment.' So the society Jesus had in mind was even more imaginary than Plato's imaginary republic. He named His society 'The kingdom of God', and the members of this society could be only those who were ready to leave their families, children and parents, despise money and give their lives into the hand of a blind fate: in a word who would deny the principles of

modern civilization. Naturally the only business of this society would be resignation from the world in holy fear, to do the will of God (as Dervishes). Consequently, for these people neither laws nor penal codes could be a matter of discussion. Here every one is the child of God with equal love and compassion, and in this Kingdom there is no place for culpability.

"Today, especially in the theological seminaries of England, the enquiry into Christianity is carried on in the field of psychological study, without taking into consideration the principles of social life. In Christianity, that is, in the teaching of Jesus, the non-existence of laws and regulations which govern society is supposed by authors and professors as a fundamental virtue and superiority of Christianity. They believe that in this way Christianity has the capability of adjusting itself to all forms of modern progress and mental development. The most convincing answer to such arguments would be to point to the great difference between the world of Jesus and the principles of modern civilization. And also the fact that all the words which can truly be ascribed to Jesus in the whole New Testament do not exceed three chapters, approximately a hundred and eleven verses.

"The teachings of Jesus on the one hand have not laid down any definite laws and regulations, and on the other hand have left a large field for all kinds of fanatical and extreme interpretations. For in these teachings can be detected a contention between God and Satan like the eternal contention of Ahriman and Ahura Mazda of Persia. Satan was victorious while Jesus was living, nevertheless the 'Son of Man' shall send His angels to pick up all the wicked and cast them into the furnace of fire (Matt. 13:49). The Inquisition took its origin from Christianity and developed with it. The Apostle Paul in his Epistle to Timothy states this same thesis of ours 'Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having thrust from them made shipwreck of the faith of whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I delivered over to Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme.' (I Timothy 1: 19-20).

"During the early days of Christianity, the punishment of those who surrendered themselves to Satan, that is, those who denied Christianity, was simply their rejection from the society. This was a mild appliance of the Mosaic Law. In the Mosaic Law for similar cases stoning was the inevitable treatment.

"The Church, during the first three centuries, was tolerant towards her enemies. The first Fathers, Origen and Lactantius, rejected oppression and tyranny. Constantine the first, who accepted Christianity as the official religion of the State, by the edict of Milan in 313 A. D. opened an era of tolerance. But beginning with Valentine I and Theodosius I (379-395 A. D.) things were changed, and severe laws were issued against those who surrendered themselves to Satan, and such laws and orders grew severer and intenser.

"A fair idea can be gathered from the fact that during the course of fifty-two years, sixty-eight different laws were promulgated with regard to the treatment of those who denied Christianity."

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